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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

VOLUME XLIX.

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THE

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RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JULY, 1850.

Art. I. — THE CHRIST OF THE GOSPELS AND OF SAINT PAUL.

The writings of the New Testament describe Christ not under one form or type of representation only, but under more than one. It will be perceived that we leave out of view altogether the Christ of the Old Testament. He is presented so vaguely in the prophetic books, and the passages that are supposed to relate to him are for the most part of so doubtful an application, that no distinct image of him is there to be found. No distinct image of him, we say, — though in a certain sense he is predicted everywhere, not in the prophetic books only, but in Moses and the Psalms. He pervades, as it were, the Jewish Scriptures, though without form. How should there have been a form, when the time of manifestation lay yet in the darkness of the future? If we were not able to put our finger upon a single clear passage, and say he is literally there, still we could distinguish through the whole the essence of prophecy. The effect, too, of such prophecy was at last satisfactorily displayed. The general current of expectation flowed towards one time and one person. He that was to come appeared, and all was fulfilled.

We confine ourselves to the Christian Scriptures. How do these describe him? Not under one form or

type of representation only, but under more than one. The first three Gospels contain one of these. The Gospel according to John unfolds another. The Epistles of Paul appear to us to exhibit a third. With regard to the first two of these departments, the difference was discerned very early, and the oldest writers of the Church make mention of it. It is perfectly clear, that the first three Gospels — which, for the sake of convenience, and because it has become common so to name them, we shall call the Synoptics — take each of them the same point of view. They tell similar things in the same general manner. The coloring of their language is the same. But the moment we open the Gospel of the fourth Evangelist, every thing is changed. At the very outset, we are carried up from off the solid earth into the region of theologic ideas. And when we come to the ground again, — if the scenes are the same that we beheld before, they appear in a different light. A new, uniform strangeness is cast over them all. We breathe another air. We hear the sound of an altered speech. Christ walks before us again, but his method of discoursing is not what it was before. His figure and bearing are more like those of a superior order of beings. His language rises to a certain mystic majesty, and is sustained at that point; — which is indeed the style of the writer himself. The obscurity, so far as there was any, of his occasional parables and of his bold prophetic imagery, is now exchanged for the settled obscurity of enigmatical and transcendental forms of discourse. The incidents bear a much smaller proportion than before to the dialogue or monologue, which now occupy the chief place; and both of these are carried on in the same solemn and peculiar phraseology.

When we look at this diversity of style between John and the Synoptics with the eye of a mere literary criticism, we perceive at once that they correspond precisely with two great classes or schools of Greek composition; or in stricter accuracy perhaps we ought to say, of Hellenistic composition, for neither the one nor the other is of classical purity. The first is the simple style of Palestine. It is that in which the admirable Apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of the Son of Sirac, was written, between one and two hundred years before the

Christian era. It is as plain as the Proverbs of Solomon. It has no Egyptian refinements about it. It is that, nearly enough for our present purpose, in which Josephus recorded his famous histories. The other is the ornate, metaphysical language of Alexandria. We find a perfect specimen of this, equally admirable in its kind, in the Apocryphal book of the Wisdom of Solomon; — a book that is glowing all over with the burnished beauty of Oriental and Southern culture. We perceive the education of its author, we scent the rich banks of the Nile, the instant we open the pages. The date of this work is more uncertain than that of its companion and brother from the Holy Land, though certainly older than the New Testament. The two taken together, each unapproached according to its model, are worth more, we deliberately believe, to the didactic literature of mankind, than all the philosophic writings that ancient Greece has bequeathed to the present generation. Yes; — and we are perfectly aware, and perfectly content, that the whole of Plato's Dialogues, genuine and spurious, must be thrown into the still unequal bargain. So superior are the very offshoots of the sacred volume to all Gentile instruction in moral and divine things. As the opposite to Josephus we may set Philo Judæus, whose natural as well as intellectual birthplace was on the Alexandrian shore, and whose mode of writing bears the same resemblance to that of Josephus which the Wisdom of Solomon bears to the Wisdom of Sirac.

We have now indicated the twofold manner in which Christ was depicted during his lifetime by those who lived with him, and had the closest personal relations to him. And now we come to a noticeable fact, that bears a striking analogy to this in literary history, and yet has not attracted attention — so far as we are aware — till quite recent times. It is, that Socrates has been delineated with a somewhat corresponding diversity by two of his contemporaries and admirers, Xenophon the historian, and Plato the philosopher; — the former with the utmost simplicity, and the latter apparently more according to his own ideal pattern. This is certainly deserving of remark, both as a literary curiosity, — a classical problem, — and also for the bearing that it has upon the present subject. It offers a new point for those who are fond of

comparing, as the amiable and learned but materialistic Priestley did, "Socrates and Jesus." For our own part, we have no relish for parallels that are so far apart. We would not seek to bring together the Athenian oddity and the Light of the world; — him who was such a singular compound of the sage, the sophist, and the droll, and our unrivalled Exemplar; — the man, of whom even Schleiermacher could say, that, if his street talk was what Xenophon sometimes puts into his mouth, people must have hated to see him coming, and in the course of time he must have cleared the market-place and the work-shops, the walks and the gymnasia, by the dread of his presence, — that man, however wise and brave and good, and him who spake as never man spake. We could not find it in our heart to make diligent search for the resemblances between the son of Sophroniscus and the Son of God.

It is still a matter of debate among scholars, which of those two great Grecians represented his hero the most as he really was. And the feeling of Christian believers — or what the German Neander loves to call "the Christian consciousness" — has been divided in a similar manner. Some prefer the natural ease of the Synoptics, and the flow of their unadorned narratives. They do not easily raise themselves into congeniality with the loftier air of that Apostle whose symbol is the eagle, and whose name is upon the Apocalypse. Others, on the contrary, are so charmed with the profound meanings and the tender sublimities which they find in John, as to consider his three compeers of comparatively trivial importance. The early English Unitarians, with their prosaic setness, their frigid negations, and their bald theology, were decidedly in the first of these ranks. The aspirations of a higher form of belief had their sympathies with the second.

We have spoken of the Synoptics and John, as if they were always completely distinct from one another in the leading respect now brought forward. There is but a single exception to this, in our opinion. It is the passage in Matthew xi. 25 – 30, especially the 27th verse: — "All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." This sounds exactly as if it had escaped from the fourth Evangelist, to take an un-

wonted place upon the page of the first. The instance is unique. Professor Tholuck has thought to add two or three more examples, but they are not to the point.

We asserted, however, a triple mould in which the image of the Christ is cast. There is a third mode of representing him. This comes from the writings of the Apostle Paul. Unlike his brethren, he had never seen his Lord in the flesh. All the wonderful events of the Evangelical story had swept by. He was persecuting the already gathered Church, when he was called to be its missionary. He could write from no memories. He did not care to confer with those who had them. This he has told us himself. Instead of seeking his older brothers, the primitive witnesses to what they had seen with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears, — instead of going up to Jerusalem, where those wondrous transactions had taken place, — he went off to Arabia and Damascus. Three years were allowed to pass, before he made up his mind to look into the face of Peter who had walked to Jesus on the water, or of James who had seen him transfigured, or of the beloved disciple who had leaned upon his bosom and looked up at him on his cross, or of Thomas who had touched the prints of the nails and the stab of the spear in his risen body. This seems extremely strange; but he has told us that it was the fact. Nor will it be inexplicable, when we come to reflect upon it. If he had gone immediately to converse with the Twelve, he would have thrown suspicion upon his cause in the eyes of after generations. By thus "conferring with flesh and blood," he would have seemed to be seeking the counsel and subjecting himself to the influence of others. He would have placed himself in a subordinate position, or at least come down from his appropriate and solitary one. Besides, he could not be sure of the reception that he would meet with from the original disciples. If he felt some apprehension on this point, he had reason for it. For when he sought them at the end of his three years, and "essayed to join himself unto them, they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple." He was indebted to his friend Barnabas for a recommendation to them; and, indeed, he plainly informs us that even then — though he abode fifteen days with Peter, — and it was Peter who first had his eyes opened to the spread of Christ's religion among

the heathen — other of the Apostles saw he none, save James the Lord's brother. And beyond and above these two considerations just mentioned, why should he have mingled at once, or at all, with the rest of the Apostles? His call was a peculiar one. His testimony was an independent one. His discipleship drew its date from the vision that he saw on his way to Damascus. He had no need of going behind the commission that he then received. He betook himself, therefore, to retirement and meditation. He had with him the immediate Christ, who had spoken to him from his glory, and who would not leave him now. He went to ponder the old predictions. He went to open his fervent soul to new revelations of God.

In consequence of these extraordinary circumstances, we should expect some peculiarity in the mode of exhibiting, if not of conceiving, the now ascended Master. And we find it. It is not the manner of Palestine. It is not the manner of Egypt. For the want of a more appropriate title, we will call it the Rabbinical manner. It may have taken its tinge or not from what he learned at the feet of Gamaliel. He delights in allegories, and in rather violent constructions of the Jewish Scriptures. His Messiah is the Hebrew one sublimated. He is determined to know him no longer "after the flesh," in any sense; but as the first-born of the whole creation; the first-born from the dead; the second Adam; the image of the heavenly; raised to the right hand of God, far above all principality and power and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come. He loves to heap up and crowd together epithets of honor, that he may thus show his sense of the majesty of this Vice-Regent of the Almighty; whom, though man still, God had ordained to judge the quick and the dead at his second coming. Every thing with Paul carries an air of direct personality in it. In this respect he stands in opposition to John, who tends to abstractions, or conveys under sensuous images general truths. For example, when the Christ of the fourth Gospel declares that they who are in their graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, we may suppose, as the best interpreters do, that he refers only to a moral resurrection. And again, when

he says, "I *am* the resurrection and the life," the idea of a spiritual life rises into the minds of all. But when Paul enters upon his descriptions of the last things, we see the literalist as plainly as we do in the Christology of the Jewish doctors. He does not lead us to look any further than the descriptions themselves.

We have thus demonstrated, as we think, that there are three general ways of representing Christ in the Christian Scriptures; — that of the first three Gospels, that of the fourth Gospel, and that of the Apostle Paul. The first is in the plain style of Palestine; the second in the style peculiar to the Alexandrian school; and the third in a manner less absolutely decided, which we may term the Rabbinical, or that of the Jewish Christology. We may make these distinctions more clear, or at least impress them in a deeper and livelier manner, by designating them under other titles. And if, in doing this, we have no care about discriminating very nicely between what belongs only to the character of the several writings themselves, and what relates to the Divine Person whom they describe, this need not be accounted of any essential importance to the object that we have in view.

Under the first of the heads that have been named, we have the biographical Christ; under the second, the mystical; under the third, the idealized. The first includes most of the natural, the second of the metaphysical, the third of the glorified Redeemer. First appears the Son of man, next the Son of God, last the ascended to God; and we see him successively in the flesh, in the spirit, and in the skies. We begin with the practical or moral Christ; we pass on to the speculative or theological; we end with the imaginative or deified. He shines first through the narrative form; then through the dialogue; and then through the Epistle. Jesus the Christ leads the way. The Logos, the Divine and Eternal Word, follows. And finally comes forward the Great Head of the Church. Messiah the prophet arises out of Nazareth; the Only-Begotten descends from the Father; the Lord of Glory sits upon his throne. Finally, to close this enumeration, which should not be drawn out till it seems artificial, and rather invented than found, we look upon the first as the Christ of memory; upon the second

as the Christ of contemplation; and upon the third as the Christ of the preacher, — held up to the revering homage of all the world.

Two questions of grave importance arise out of the facts that have just been stated. Do these facts throw any suspicion over the authenticity of the records? Do they interfere with the unity of our impressions concerning the Redeemer, or blur our clear apprehension of him? To the first of these questions we answer, Not in the least degree. The discrepance of those accounts does but multiply the evidences of their truth. They who describe independently any object must always describe it diversely, according to their several habits of mind and points of view; and the larger the object is, the more variously will they be likely to represent it. We should not expect that the beloved disciple, the tender-hearted survivor of all his brethren, would speak of his Master in the same tone with others. As for the Epistles of Paul, they are so demonstrably his that all antiquity cannot show such an accumulation of proof for the genuineness of any writings. To the second question, also, we reply, Interfere with the unity, blur the distinctness, of our conceptions of Christ! Just the contrary. We need that divergency, which we have seen actually to exist, in order to spread a foundation wide enough to contain and hold up the full idea of so divine a person as the Lord Jesus. Who supposes that our view of the Grecian sage is confused, or that any doubt is cast upon what he really was, by the differing accounts of his disciples who wrote of him? How should they have written of him alike, though they both were his favorites and admirers, when one was a man of affairs and a great commander, and the other lived chiefly in the inward life? One was flattered by his countrymen with the title of "the Attic bee." He flew over Asia, to bring back, even from its fields of battle, sweets for his native hive. The other was saluted by the philosopher himself as "the academic swan," dwelling in silence, purity, seclusion, and peace. The learned Professor of Greek at Harvard University has just told us, that a perfectly proportioned figure of Socrates can be made only by combining the three representations of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristophanes.*

* *North American Review* for April, 1850, p. 523.

How vastly stronger is the case before us, when the figure to be displayed is that of the Saviour of men! That sacred form is nowhere and in no dress to be mistaken. No biographer could make him ordinary or tedious. No idealist could reach the height of his excelling nature. No ribald satirist could touch him with one stroke of ridicule.

In a word, we required the holy testimony, as we have it, in a triple bond of descriptions. This makes all complete. It is the "threefold cord that is not quickly broken"; — that will tie up its treasure secure and fast for all generations. N. L. F.

Art. II. — AGASSIZ'S TOUR TO LAKE SUPERIOR.*

Lake Superior has, ever since its discovery, been regarded as one of the most remarkable features of the Western Continent. The philosophical traveller from the East has looked towards it, as towards Niagara, with longing eyes. A vast fresh-water sea, Atlantic in its storms and waves, Norwegian in its mountainous borders, set with innumerable islands, small and large, inhabited by savage Indians and Indian superstitions, and stored with copper and gold, with thirty unexplored rivers said to be pouring into its northern unexplored shores, and as many half explored, into the hollow crescent of its southern side, — with unknown fishes, larger than swim in any other lakes, and waters so transparent that, as Jonathan Carver has taught us to believe, the canoe floating over them in a calm seems to be suspended between earth and heaven; — such has Lake Superior presented itself to the imagination. How came the lake where it is? What has given it its shape? What has uplifted the precipitous cliffs of its northern shores and islands? Whence its ores and metals? What is its

* *Lake Superior: its Physical Character, Vegetation, and Animals, compared with those of other and similar Regions.* By Louis Agassiz. *With a Narrative of the Tour, by* J. Elliot Cabot. *And Contributions by other Scientific Gentlemen.* Elegantly illustrated. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1850. 8vo. pp. 428.

vegetation, and to what flora of the Old World, modern or ancient, does it correspond? What are its animals? Were they created here, or have they found their way across seas and snows, from some garden of Eden in the East? Such are some of the questions to which an answer is attempted in the volume before us.

This is a remarkable volume, containing the fruits of a summer-vacation journey, the plan of which was conceived and executed with signal skill and success. A party of young gentlemen, most of them belonging to one or another of the several Schools in the University at Cambridge, leave Boston on a pleasant morning in June, in company with two men of learning as their instructors, and are joined in Albany by New York members of the party, which in all numbers eighteen. Their object is to study the natural history of the northern shore of this lake, and to learn, under the guidance of a most experienced observer, how to observe. The story is graphically, and only too rapidly, told, by a gentleman who unites love of science, and familiarity with more than one of its branches, with the eye and taste of a painter. It would be difficult to find a more graceful and agreeable narrative, or one which we should more willingly have had longer.

The professor never forgets his class, nor allows them to forget the objects they should have in view. At the end of the very first day, they assemble in an upper room in their hotel at Albany, and listen to an admirable lecture, of a few minutes, upon the geology and vegetation of the country which they have been passing through. This is his almost daily practice throughout the journey; and a precious part of the narrative is a clear and sufficiently full abstract of these gems of lectures, whenever and wherever given. They form the characteristic feature of the journey, and they may be pointed to as models for all future teachers who may be inclined thus to sweeten the liberty and brighten the hours of summer excursions. Attentively considered, they will not fail to raise the tone of scientific instruction, by showing what must be the extent of the resources from which these daily conversations were drawn, and from which alone similar ones can be drawn.

As the party passes across the country to the Lakes,

and over and along the Lakes, from Ontario to nearly the western end of Superior, and thence back through Lakes Huron and Simcoe to Toronto, there is scarcely a subject in the sciences which treat of rocks, plants, birds, fishes, shells, animals of all kinds, of land or water, which is not touched upon; and the productions of these regions are compared, not only with those of Europe of the present day, but with those of the more important recent geological periods.

To a reader so far tinctured with a love of science as to wish to know the opinions of learned naturalists upon the points of greatest interest in these subjects, and by what conclusions or conjectures many of the great questions which occur to every observer are answered, these conversation lectures are invaluable. To the party, they must have been far better than elaborate written lectures; — first, because always short; secondly, because suggested by objects before them, which served as apparatus for illustration; and lastly, because they present, in a few clear words, the conclusions of years of thought and observation. Given at the end of a day's sail, or at a lunch, or on a rainy day, they served to set the mind at work in the right direction, expanded and amplified themselves, and, explained, as they naturally were, by subsequent observation, they must have left on the memory deeper and clearer impressions than hours of listening or volumes of reading. We quote a few extracts from them, which may serve at once as examples of this mode of instruction, and as presenting the leading principles of the Professor's philosophy.

At Albany, speaking of the vegetation on their road from Boston, he says: —

"In the meadows are various grassy plants, carices, and ferns; the latter in great variety. These spots exhibit probably a condition analogous to that of the Coal Period, in which the ferns, &c. prevailed. All the plants growing on the road-sides are exotics, as are also all the cultivated plants and grasses. Everywhere in the track of the white man we find European plants; the native weeds have disappeared before him like the Indian." — p. 10.

He might have added, that most of these plants, which have come over with the Europeans as weeds, were originally brought into cultivation either for use, as pot-

herbs, or as medicines, or as ornamental flowers. The friends of man in his poverty, they seem disposed to cling to him still, in his better days, and they meet the usual return, in hard names and hard usage.

At Niagara, after some talk about the geology and vegetation of the State they had passed through, he tells them: —

"Among the plants peculiar to this country are many in whose analogues in Europe many interesting chemical products have been traced. Very little has been done here in organic chemistry, and it is a matter which might well occupy one's lifetime, to ascertain the chemical relations of analogous plants of the two countries (for instance, *Angelica*, *walnut*, &c.)." — p. 14.

The hint will not be lost upon the organic chemists. We Americans have not been quite without such researches as are here recommended, as the volumes of Dr. Bigelow testify; yet there are doubtless many plants whose virtues are now known only to Shakers, to Indian doctors, and to other simplers whose acquaintance is not quite a reputation even to herbs, which may nevertheless be possessed of most valuable properties, and which, although not destined to the fame of Indian corn, tobacco, or the potato, may yet show themselves of great value to mankind.

Professor Agassiz has a good deal to say, and much of what is the best that can be found to say, upon the geology of the Falls. But, more honest and more generous than some of his predecessors who have talked learnedly upon the same subject and from the same materials, he tells us freely, in a note, that his data are derived from Professor James Hall's investigations, in the New York State Survey. It is natural for some rich men to be generous, and it is certainly easier for one to be so who has a large fortune accumulated by his own labors, than for one who only succeeds to an inheritance. This may account for the fact, so honorable to Mr. Agassiz, that he is always ready to allow, in the largest measure, the claims of other naturalists to discoveries and observations. Perfect justice is, in this case, the highest generosity. Less than justice is meanness, and whoever is capable of it may be a distinguished naturalist, but he is at best but a mere naturalist. He does not approach to the nobleness of a man.

Once upon the Lakes, there can be no doubt how we may expect to find an ichthyologist employed. At Mackinaw, on a rainy day, we are told, —

"Notwithstanding the rain, the Professor, intent on his favorite science, occupied the morning with a fishing excursion, in which he was accompanied by several of the party, most of them protected by water-proof garments, while he, regardless of wet and cold, sat soaking in the canoe, enraptured by the variety of the scaly tribe, described and undescribed, hauled in by their combined efforts. Not content with this, he as usual interested and engaged various inhabitants of the place to supply him with a complete set of the fishes found here.

"With a view of indoctrinating those of us who were altogether new to ichthyology with some general views on the subject, he commenced in the afternoon, scalpel in hand, and a board well covered with fishes little and big before him, a discussion of their classification." — pp. 23, 24.

During which he says, speaking of the Cyprinidæ, —

"This family is the most difficult one among all fishes. As yet there is no satisfactory principle of classification for them. I have studied them so attentively that I can distinguish the European species by a single scale; but this not from any definite character, but rather by a kind of instinct. Prof. Valenciennes, a most learned ichthyologist, has lately published a volume on this family, in which he distinguishes so many species, and on such minute characters, that I think it now almost impossible to determine the species, until all are well figured." — p. 25.

We are rejoiced to know that Professor Agassiz is inclined, as we infer from these observations, to quite an opposite course. Before he describes a fish, or considers himself in a condition to describe it satisfactorily and with authority, he furnishes himself with a great variety of specimens, of all ages and sizes, of both sexes, and, if possible, of specimens caught at different seasons of the year. Pursuing the study with such means, he has sometimes reduced to one species what had passed for four species, — the male and female in the breeding season, and the male and female out of that season, — and, in some instances, additional species, which had been made from the young.

While at the Sault de St. Marie, he obtained several specimens of the gar-pike, Lepidosteus, of Lake Huron.

"In the evening he unrolled his blackboard and gave us the

following account of them : — 'The gar-pike is the only living representative of a family of fishes which were the only ones existing during the deposition of the coal and other ancient deposits. At present it occurs only in the United States.'" — p. 33.

And then follows a full account.

At the same place he made remarks on the classification of birds, the conclusion of which was, —

"In examining birds within the egg, I have recently found some characters to be less important than has been supposed. Thus, the foot of the embryo robin is webbed, like that of the adult duck; so also in the sparrow, swallow, summer-yellow-bird, and others, in all of which the adult has divided toes. The bill also is crooked, and the point of the upper mandible projecting, as in the adult form of birds of prey. These latter, then, it would seem, should be brought down from the high place assigned to them on account of their voracious and rapacious habits, as if these would entitle an animal to a higher rank. For the resemblance of an adult animal to the embryo of another species indicates a lower rank in the former." — p. 36.

We can easily conjecture what rank the Professor would assign to some animals in quite a different class, whose highest distinction has hitherto been their "voracious and rapacious habits."

While near Fort William, the extreme point which the whole party reached, —

"In the evening the Professor made the following remarks on the distribution of animals and plants : —

"There is no animal, and no plant, which in its natural state is found in every part of the world, but each has assigned to it a situation corresponding with its organization and character. The cod, the trout, and the sturgeon are found only in the north, and have no antarctic representatives. The cactus is found only in America, and almost exclusively in the tropical parts. Humboldt, to whom the earliest investigations on this subject are due, extends the principle, not only to the distribution of plants according to latitude, but also according to vertical elevation above the surface of the earth in the same latitudes. Thus an elevation of fourteen thousand feet under the tropics corresponds to 53° north latitude in America, and 68° in Europe. The vegetation on the summit of Mt. Etna would correspond with that of Mt. Washington, and this again with the summits of the Andes, and the level of the sea in the arctic regions. In the ascent of a high mountain, we have, as it were, a vertical section of the strata of vegetation which 'crop out' or successively appear as

we advance towards the north over a wide extent of country."— pp. 89, 90.

Detained by the rain at Cape Gourgan, —

"The Professor took advantage of the opportunity to make the following remarks on the causes that influence the outlines of continents. . . . . .

"It would be very interesting to ascertain in detail the dependence of the forms of continents on geological phenomena. I have been struck with the possibility of this in running along the shore of this lake. The general shape of Lake Superior is that of a crescent. But it would be a great mistake to suppose it bounded by curved lines. Its shores are combinations of successive sets of straight parallel lines, determined in each instance by a peculiar system of trap-dykes. These dykes have five general directions, and the outlines of the shores are determined by their combinations. One of these directions is east, 30° north. This we find in the islands off Prince's Location, in Isle Royale, &c., and then again in Point Keewenaw and White-Fish Point. This is cut across by one east, 20° north: these two we have seen in several places together. Another is north, a little east. Another nearly E. to W. The last has a direction north and south, which we see in Neepigon Bay, where are the only inlets on the lake running north and south. Of these various sets of dykes each has its peculiar mineralogical character." — pp. 95 – 97.

To be intelligible, these observations ought to be illustrated by a good map. For this specific purpose, and very well suited to it, there is, among the illustrations of the volume, a beautiful little outline map of Lake Superior by Sonrel. It is to be regretted that a map of at least the eastern and northeastern shore of the lake, on a somewhat larger scale, and with the latitudes and longitudes carefully laid down, had not been added. Bayfield's map is hardly to be found. We have not been able to procure a single copy. The maps of the mining regions which have been published are mostly of the opposite coast. The accessible maps of the whole lake are evidently not to be relied upon. A reduced copy of Bayfield or of the Admiralty map, in the maps published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, would have added very much to the satisfaction with which we read the narrative.

A few days afterwards, and at a point not far distant, —

"The Professor made the following remarks upon the terraces and the drift formation about the lake: —

"We have seen, at various points along our route, large accumulations of loose materials, often in the form of terraces. These loose materials are usually called 'drift,' but it is necessary to distinguish, among the various formations known by this name, the beaches thrown up by the lake upon its present shores, and the ancient terraces above the present level of the water. Nevertheless, the connection between these two kinds of drift is such as to show that the latter also were formed by the lake, but under different circumstances from the present beaches. The first question is, whether the lake was anciently higher; the elevation of the ancient terraces having been the same as now; or whether the land has been elevated. Either is possible, for we have examples both of elevation and of depression going on in our own day, as upon the eastern coast of Sweden and the western coast of Norway. This question cannot be settled by a simple inspection of the terraces, but only by a comparison of their elevation with the level of the surrounding region. Now the terraces we saw yesterday show a difference of level of over three hundred feet above the present lake beaches. If we add this to the present level of the lake, and suppose it formerly to have stood at the height which they now exhibit, it must have overflowed the whole United States and joined the ocean. But if this were so, we ought to find the remains of marine animals here, which is not the case. It is more probable, therefore, that the land has been elevated.

"The foundation on which these terraces rest is uniformly rounded and scratched rock. During our whole journey we have nowhere seen serrated peaks; everywhere the surface is smooth, grooved and scratched in a north and south direction, occasionally diverging east and west. And it is evident that the force that produced these appearances acted from north towards the south, for we generally find the south side of the rocks rough and precipitous, showing no abrading action, whereas they are smoothed off towards the north. Now it may be asked whether the loose materials before spoken of were the agents that produced these effects? I think we may say positively that they were not. We have found the rounding and grooving at the highest point we have visited, that is, over twelve hundred feet above the level of the lake. This is much higher than any of these loose materials are to be found. Moreover, we see they are disposed according to the present form of the lake, and evidently in many instances have been heaped up by a force acting in a direction from south to north, directly contrary to that of the grooving force. It is clear that the formation of the terraces was subsequent. They overlie the grooved and rounded rocks.

"To ascertain the cause of this latter phenomenon we must find what are its limits. Now we find it occurring universally over the northern portion of the globe, and always having the same general direction. Its limit in elevation, as ascertained on the sides of mountains, is about five thousand feet above the sea. At about this height on Ben Nevis in Scotland, and on Mt. Washington in New Hampshire, the grooving and polishing end. Below this level the whole northern surface of the earth as a general thing, shows the marks of this agency. Some geologists attribute these effects to the action of *currents*. But currents extending over such a vast extent of the earth's surface must necessarily have been ocean currents, and these must have brought with them marine animals, of the existence of which no traces have been found. Moreover, such extensive currents in one direction could not have existed: there would necessarily have been refluxes and counter-currents.

"These and other difficulties have led me to attribute these effects to another cause. It has been ascertained that the glaciers of Switzerland formerly extended much farther than at present, reaching, without interruption, to the vicinity of Paris, and, near their origin, to the height of nine thousand feet above the sea. Similar indications are to be found in all the mountain chains of Great Britain, and in various parts of Europe. Now at the time when such glaciers existed in Europe, the temperature must have been much lower than at present. The mean annual temperature of Switzerland must have been 15° Fah. below the present. That such a depression of temperature actually took place is also indicated by other facts. Thus the fossils found in the glacial moraines are of an arctic character, and shells of the German Ocean are found in the moraine gravels of Sicily. This, however, is inconceivable without a corresponding depression all over the globe. Now if we suppose the mean annual temperature of this country to be reduced to 26° Fah., it would naturally be covered to a considerable depth with ice, which would move from north to south. Such a mass of ice moving over the country would produce these effects of rounding and scratching the rocks, and would remove the soil, except from the depressions. It is sometimes objected to this theory, that we have here no slope which should cause such a mass of ice to move onward. But it is not necessary that there should be any slope in order that a glacier should move. In the Swiss glaciers the motion is often slowest on the steepest part of the slope, and some glaciers of 7° inclination move faster than others with a slope of 40°. The great motive force is not the gravitation of the mass, but the pressure of the water infiltrated into it. Then, supposing the country to have been subsequently

depressed (as we see has been the case in Sweden and Norway, where marine shells have been found at the height of three or four hundred feet above the level of the sea), and afterwards raised again, these various terraces would mark the successive paroxysms or periods of reëlevation." — pp. 102 – 105.

We have given this long extract because it presents very fully and distinctly, and in as few words as possible, an outline of Mr. Agassiz's theory of glacial action, to which he assigns so important a part in the disposal of the movable materials of the present surface of a large portion of the middle and northern regions in both continents. We should be glad to return to a subject which has commanded so much of the author's attention, but we have not time. Whoever would learn more will find a masterly discussion of the whole in the chapter upon "The Erratic Phenomena about Lake Superior."

At St. Joseph's, on Lake Huron, the captain took them to see a rock which he considered a great curiosity, and which proved to be a large bowlder of the most beautiful conglomerate.

"In the evening the Professor made the following remarks on occasion of the bowlder: —

"This bowlder may be considered as an epitome of all the rocks we have seen. A complete examination of it would occupy a geologist many months. This conglomerate is associated with the oldest stratified formations, and must have been formed in the same epoch with them. Its component parts give us some insight into its age. It contains no fragment of fossiliferous rock; thus the pebbles of which it is composed must have been broken off, rolled by the waves and thereby rounded and smoothed, and afterwards cemented together, before the appearance of animal life on the earth. On the other hand it contains trap; thus trap-dykes must have been thrown up at that early period. Its other elements are jasper, porphyry, agate, quartz, and even mica; all belonging to the ancient rocks which we have seen on Lake Superior. In one of the bowlders the materials are slightly stratified, so that they had been arranged in layers before they were cemented together. In all of them the cement is more or less vitrified, showing a strong action of heat. This must have been derived from plutonic agencies, so that the plutonic action on the lake commenced before the introduction of animal life. The sandstone formations about Gros-Cap and Batcheewauung Bay indicate in all probability the beaches of the ancient continents from which these fragments were detached, and the out-

lines of the seas by which they were rolled and worn. Afterwards they were conglomerated, and then removed hither by other agencies. This bowlder does not show the marks of having been transported by the action of water. Its surface is smoothed and grooved in a uniform manner, without the slightest reference to the different hardness of its various materials. Had it been worn into its present shape by the action of water, the harder stones would be left prominent. I have no doubt, from the similarity of its appearance in this respect to the rocks of the present glaciers of Switzerland, that it has been firmly fixed in a heavy mass of ice and moved steadily forward in one direction, and thereby ground down." — pp. 126, 127.

It would be difficult to point out a better example of clear statement, rapid reckoning, and fair inference, luminously condensed.

The party entered Lake Huron on the 22d of June, in the Globe steamboat, reached Mackinaw on the 23d, — missed the regular steamer, took a Mackinaw boat, and reached the Sault on the 26th. Here they remained until the 30th, when they started in three boats, — one large Mackinaw boat, or bateau, and two birch-bark canoes, about four fathoms long. To these they were afterwards obliged to add another canoe. Keeping along the eastern and northeastern shore of Lake Superior, encamping every night on land, and making short explorations, they reached the Pic, a post of the Hudson's Bay Company, on the 11th of July, and Fort William on the 20th. From this place they made an excursion to the Kakabeka Falls on the Kaministiquia River, which occupied three days. From Fort William, some of the party, in the "Dancing Feather," determined to go back to the Sault along the south shore of the lake. The narrative of the Dancing Feather unfortunately has not reached us. The main party, making a visit to a copper mine at Prince's Location, about 20 miles west of Fort William, and giving up, on account of stress of wind, a visit to Isle Royale, started from Victoria Island, on the 27th, for home. Victoria Island, their westernmost point, was about 440 miles from the Sault, by the way they went, and somewhat farther, as they returned. Varying their course somewhat, and occasionally stopping for excursions, and when detained by head winds, they reached the Sault on the 15th of August, the day fixed upon, and found that their friends of the Dancing Feather had arrived just

two hours before them: "So here we were all on the day appointed for meeting, although we had paddled four hundred miles, and they twice as far, since we parted." They reached Niagara, by way of Lake Simcoe, on the 24th.

It would be very pleasant, if we had space, to make many extracts from this most agreeable narrative; to introduce our readers to the retired Major at St. Joseph's Island, the lazy population at the Sault, the drunken chief, the canoes, their make, furniture, stowage, and comforts, — their crews, — the bourgeois, meaning Mr. Agassiz, the writer himself, and their companions, — the half-breed Indians, — the Canadian French, in whom is discovered an extraordinary resemblance to the Irish; — and no wonder, as they were originally from Brittany, the *patois* of which, the Bas-Breton, is a Celtic dialect, and the people are doubtless descendants from Celts, and, therefore near of kin to the children of Erin; — Henry's cooking, John's genius, the Ojibwas, their simple and savage habits, the scenery of the lake, the high, rocky islands and promontories, the beaches and terraces, rising one above another for hundreds of feet, the Hudson's Bay Company's forts, and the furs collected there, the northern lights, the fire in the woods, the thousands of islands, the comforts of a bed of lichen or moss, the violent winds driving against the northern shores, the swimming cows at Fort William, the Kakabeka Falls, the dogs and the kettles, the Indian sweating-house, the incidents of a life so monotonous and so varied, — so unlike common life, — facts interesting in natural history, above all, the musquitos, the flies, little and great, the vain attempts to encounter the black flies, — a consideration of which might naturally lead to the discussion and even to the settlement of questions more cognate, perhaps, than most of what we have to say, to the more usual subjects of the pages of the Examiner; how it happened, for example, that Beelzebub, the Syrian god of flies, came to be considered the representative, — the personification, — of the very spirit of evil himself. For all these and many other curious matters, we must refer to the Narrative.

The color of the water of Montreal River (p. 51), and the other rivers which run into the lake, is represented as a rich umber, — a color there attributed to the presence of

pitch. We have traced many New England streams of this color to their sources, and have uniformly found them to flow from or through sphagnous swamps, and we have supposed they got thence their color and their properties. We strongly suspect that ulmic acid will always be found in these waters.

We cannot quote so much as we would, but we will not refrain from a few passages, to give an idea of the whole, and to show how useful an eye for natural history is among the qualifications for a proper description of scenery. On the first evening from the Sault, —

"There was nothing very cheery about the aspect of the Pointe-aux-Pins; — a desolate mass of sand, with the tent standing out against the bleak sky, backed by a few stunted willows, the river a couple of hundred yards in front, and a horizon of forest beyond.

"A bleak, desert situation, so exposed to the wind that we had to carry a guy far to windward, attached to the peak of the tent, to prevent it from being blown over. No vestige of human habitation in sight, and no living thing, except the little squads of pigeons scudding before the wind to their roosting place across the river. Yet I felt, as I stood before the camp-fire, an unusual and unaccountable exhilaration, an outburst, perhaps, of that Indian nature that delights in exposure, in novel modes of life, and in going where nobody else goes." — p. 40.

"Between Cape Choyye and Michipicotin, a distance of about twenty miles, I did not notice [noticed] but one beach, and that of only a few yards' extent. The rocks rise from the water, often vertically, several hundred feet, scored with deep rents and chasms, from decomposed trap-dykes, and striped down with black lichens. In some places, huge basalt-like parallelograms of rock stood out like pulpits. Along the top of the ridge stretched the never-ending spruce forest, and wherever a gully or break varied the perpendicular face, a few birches crept downward from crevice to crevice." — p. 58.

On the third or fourth day of their voyage back, we find them in Neepigon Bay, endeavouring to make their way round the south point of St. Ignace.

"The prospect to windward was grand and striking. We were inclosed in an inner sea, a lake within the Lake: St. Ignace behind us, and on each side ridges of granite a thousand feet high. A sea of hills, rising from the rocky islands a few miles off, one over the other, to the mountain chain far behind in the bottom of the bay. It was in fact an epitome of all

the most remarkable scenery of the lake. The wind, however, increased so much that we judged it prudent to return. Accordingly we hoisted sail, and the canoe, right before the wind, swaying gently from side to side, like a sea-bird changing wings, made a comparative calm by its rapid flight; occasionally we struck a wave as it drew back, and then some care was required to keep from running bows under." — p. 98.

Somewhat eastward of the Pic, they had taken refuge in a narrow inlet, where they were confined by a strong wind from the southeast.

"Our little point was as silent as a piece of the primeval earth; not a living thing stirring except a few musquitos, and an impudent moose-bird that perched down, with a jerk of the tail and a knowing turn of the head, among our very camp-kettles. A heavy stillness seemed to hang over it and weigh down every sound, so that a few paces from the tents one forgot that he was not alone. It was as if no noise had been heard here since the woods grew, and all Nature seemed sunk in a dead, dreamless sleep." — p. 109.

"Michipicotin Falls consist of three cascades..... The third or lower fall is very striking. Whether from the sudden expanse of the channel, which becomes somewhat wider here, or from the shape of its bed, it forms a regular half-dome of broken water, a most magnificent spectacle, not at all like any other large fall I ever saw, but resembling on a gigantic scale the bell of water so often formed by a projecting stone in small mountain streams.

"This indeed might serve for a description of the whole scene. It is a mountain torrent on a large scale, and without the majesty of Niagara, or even of Kakabeka, it has a charm of its own in its exuberant life and freedom. Below, the river turned to the right, leaving at its outer angle a whirlpool, in which were revolving a great quantity of logs, as cleanly stripped of bark, roots, and branches, as if prepared for the saw-mill." — pp. 117, 118.

Here we have the description of the lake: —

"Lake Superior is to be figured to the mind as a vast basin with a high rocky rim, scooped out of the plateau extending from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi valley, a little to the south of the height of land. Its dimensions, according to Capt. Bayfield, are three hundred and sixty miles in length, one hundred and forty in breadth, and fifteen hundred in circumference. The mountainous rim is almost unbroken; its height varies from the average of about three or four hundred feet, to twelve or thirteen hundred; the slopes are gradual towards the north, and abrupt

on the opposite side, so that on the north shore the cliffs rise steeply from the water, whilst on the south it is said the ascent is more gentle; the abrupt faces being inland.

"This difference of formation, joined to the prevalence of northerly winds, has given very different aspects to the two shores; the southern showing broad sand-beaches and remarkable hills of sand, whereas on the north shore the beaches are of large angular stones, and sand is hardly to be seen except at the mouths of the rivers. The rivers of the southern shore are often silted up, and almost invariably, it is said, barred across by sand-spits, so that they run sometimes for miles parallel to the lake, and separated from it only by narrow strips of sand projecting from the west.

"The continuity of this rim occasions a great similarity among the little rivers on the north and east shores, and no doubt elsewhere. They all come in with rapids and little falls near the lake, and more considerable ones farther back. These streams are said often to have in their short course a descent of five or six hundred feet.

"This huge basin is filled with clear, icy water, of a greenish cast, the average temperature about 40_{o} Fahrenheit.* Its surface is six hundred and twenty-seven feet above the level of the sea; its depth, so far as actual soundings go, is a hundred and thirty-two fathoms, that is, one hundred and sixty-five feet below the sea level; but Bayfield conjectures it may be over two hundred fathoms in some places.†

"In geographical position the lake would naturally seem to lie within the zone of civilization. But on the north shore we find we have already got into the Northern Regions. The trees and shrubs are the same as are found on Hudson's Bay; spruces, birches, and poplars; the Vaccinia and Labrador tea. Still more characteristic are the deep beds of moss and lichen, and the alternation of the dense growth along the water, with the dry, barren, lichenous plains of the interior. Here we are already in the Fur Countries; the land of voyageurs and trappers; not from any accident, but from the character of the soil and climate. Unless the mines should attract and support a population, one sees not how this region should ever be inhabited.

"This stern and northern character is shown in nothing more clearly than in the scarcity of animals. The woods are silent, and as if deserted; one may walk for hours without hearing an

* Logan, and Dr. Charles T. Jackson. A recent letter from the lake, dated July 1, 1849, mentions the temperature of the surface, at eight o'clock, P. M., as 37°.

† According to Bayfield's paper in the Transactions of the Literary and Scientific Society of Quebec (cited in Bouchette's "British Dominions in North America," I., 128, et seq.).

animal sound, and when he does, it is of a wild and lonely character; the cry of a loon, or the Canada jay, the startling rattle of the arctic woodpecker, or the sweet, solemn note of the white-throated sparrow. Occasionally you come upon a silent, solitary pigeon sitting upon a dead bough; or a little troop of gold-crests and chickadees, with their cousins of Hudson's Bay, comes drifting through the tree-tops. It is like being transported to the early ages of the earth, when the mosses and pines had just begun to cover the primeval rock, and the animals as yet ventured timidly forth into the new world.

"The lake shows in all its features a continental uniqueness and uniformity, appropriate to the largest body of fresh water on the globe. The woods and rocks are everywhere the same, or similar. The rivers and the islands are counterparts of each other. The very fishes, although kept there by no material barrier, are yet different from those of the other lakes. Where differences exist between the various parts, they are broad and gradual." — pp. 123 – 125.

But here is something better than even beautiful description.

"*Aug. 20th.* — We stopped this morning at a little settlement on the Grand Manitoulin, whither the Indians come yearly to receive their 'presents.' A few soldiers are stationed here to keep order on these occasions. It is a significant fact that, both here and at Mackinaw, the ground-rent paid by the British and United States governments to the original lords of the soil goes under the name of a *present*, as if dependent on the mere good-will and pleasure of the tenants. . . . . .

"On one occasion, the Captain saw a general collection of the tribe from all quarters, as far as the Red River settlement on the one hand, and Hudson's Bay on the other. There were in all about five thousand six hundred persons, men, women, and children. As usual they carried little or no food with them, and such a multitude soon exhausted the fish and game of the neighbourhood. Terrible want ensued, and as the English authorities for some time refused any assistance, many were near starvation. Some families, to his knowledge, went three days without food; others lived on small bits of maple sugar, which were divided with scrupulous accuracy. At last the officer in charge ordered some Indian corn and 'grease' to be served out to them. The Captain was standing with the officers when this order was executed, and understood (though *they* did not) the speech the chief made to his men on the occasion. 'When strangers come to visit *us*,' said he, 'we look round for the best we have, to offer to them. But we must take this, or starve.'

"If it be said that the strict law of nations is not applicable to

dealings with savages, any more than the municipal law to the management of children, — at least they should have the benefit of the principle. If we claim to stand *in loco parentis* with regard to them, we should show some parental solicitude for their welfare. But the poor savages fall between the two stools, and get neither law, equity, nor loving-kindness at our hands. It is difficult to see, for instance, why the annual stipend should not be paid to the Indians at places in a measure convenient for them to receive it, say at La Pointe, on the American side, and Fort William, the Red River settlement, and the like, on the Canadian, instead of practically cheating them out of it in this way." — pp. 127, 128.

This beautiful Narrative is the fitting introduction to the proper object of the work, a picture of the natural history of Lake Superior. This is given in twelve chapters, one by Dr. J. L. Le Conte, upon the Coleoptera; one by Dr. A. A. Gould, upon the shells; one upon the birds, by J. E. Cabot; one upon Lepidopterous Insects, by Dr. T. W. Harris; the rest, upon the vegetation, the geology, and the zoölogy, by Mr. Agassiz.* Upon most of these chapters we have no time to touch, even in the most superficial manner. They are mostly catalogues, with scientific descriptions of new species, the latter as little susceptible of abridgment as the former. All contain valuable contributions to natural history, of surprising extent, if we consider the time and circumstances in which the observations and collections were made. When before did a summer vacation yield such a harvest!

The first chapter, under the title of "Northern Vegetation compared with that of the Jura and the Alps," contains a contribution of high and noble thoughts, — of interest not merely to the naturalist, but to every thinker, — upon the circumstances influencing animal and vegetable life, and their subordination to the ever acting will and thought of the Creator. Living beings are not scattered at random. Their distribution is regulated by laws giving to each region its peculiar aspects. The physical conditions of climate; temperature, moderate or in extremes; the moisture of the atmosphere; its pressure; the amount of light; the electric state of the air; the chemical nature of the soil, and its relations to moisture;

* Cum Enumeratione Lichenum, ab Edv. Tuckerman, Cantabr.

— these are all powerful and ever active; and the action of all is completely modified by a change in the action of any one. Add the form of continents, the bearing of their shores, the height and direction of their mountains, the shapes and currents of contiguous oceans, the absence or presence of inland lakes, the prevalence and direction of winds, the elevation or depression of plains or mountain plateaus. A chain of mountains running east and west divides Europe into a northern and a southern zone. Chains running north and south in North America give to Massachusetts the winter of Lapland and the summer of Italy. A northwest wind in February sinks the thermometer in Boston to zero; it opens the soil on the west of Ireland for the plough.

"But however active these physical agents may be, it would be very unphilosophical to consider them as the source or origin of the beings upon which they show so extensive an influence. Mistaking the circumstantial relation under which they appear for a causal connection, has done great mischief in natural science, and led many to believe they understood the process of creation, because they could account for some of the phenomena under observation. But however powerful may be the degree of the heat; be the air ever so dry, or ever so moist; the light ever so moderate, or ever so bright; alternating ever so suddenly with darkness, or passing gradually from one condition to the other; these agents have never been observed to produce any thing new, or to call into existence any thing that did not exist before. Whether acting isolated or jointly, they have never been known even to modify to any great extent the living beings already existing, unless under the guidance and influence of man, as we observe among domesticated animals and cultivated plants. This latter fact shows indeed that the influence of the mind over material phenomena is far greater than that of physical forces, and thus refers our thoughts again and again to a Supreme Intelligence for a cause of all these phenomena, rather than to so-called natural agents." — p. 142.

Taking all physical circumstances into consideration, and giving them their widest influence, there are innumerable facts which they go not at all towards accounting for. Why should the magnolia and the cactus be found rather in America, the kangaroo in New Holland, the elephant and rhinoceros in Asia and Africa? There are other influences, higher and deeper than any

we see, on which life depends. However intimately connected with climate, however apparently dependent on its influences, life, vegetable or animal, is in reality independent of them. They are only, at best, modifying circumstances. They make no approximation to creative power. They make only more necessary the existence and intervention of a Creator.

"The geographical distribution of organized beings displays more fully the direct intervention of a Supreme Intelligence in the plan of the Creation, than any other adaptation in the physical world. Generally, the evidence of such an intervention is derived from the benefits, material, intellectual, and moral, which man derives from nature around him, and from the mental conviction which consciousness imparts to him, that there could be no such wonderful order in the Creation, without an omnipotent Ordainer of the whole. This evidence, however plain to the Christian, will never be satisfactory to the man of science, in that form. In these studies evidence must rest upon direct observation and induction, just as fully as mathematics claims the right to settle all questions about measurable things. There will be no *scientific* evidence of God's working in nature until naturalists have shown that the whole Creation is the *expression of a thought*, and not the *product of physical agents*. Now what stronger evidence of thoughtful adaptation can there be, than the various combinations of similar, though specifically different, assemblages of animals and plants repeated all over the world, under the most uniform and the most diversified circumstances? When we meet with pine-trees, so remarkable for their peculiarities, both morphological and anatomical, combined with beeches, birches, oaks, maples, &c., as well in North America as in Europe and Northern Asia, under most similar circumstances; when we find again representatives of the same family with totally different features, mingling so to say under low latitudes with palm-trees and all the luxuriant vegetation of the tropics; when we truly behold such scenes and have penetrated their full meaning as naturalists, then we are placed in a position similar to that of the antiquarian who visits ancient monuments. He recognizes at once the workings of intelligence in the remains of an ancient civilization; he may fail to ascertain their age correctly, he may remain doubtful as to the order in which they were successively constructed, but the character of the whole tells him that they are works of art, and that men, like himself, originated these relics of bygone ages. So shall the intelligent naturalist read at once, in the pictures which nature presents to him, the works of a higher Intelligence; he shall recognize in the minute perforated cells of the Coniferæ, which differ so wonderfully from those of other

plants, the hieroglyphics of a peculiar age; in their needle-like leaves, the escutcheon of a peculiar dynasty; in their repeated appearance under most diversified circumstances, a thoughtful and thought-eliciting adaptation. He beholds indeed the works of a being *thinking* like himself, but he feels at the same time that he stands as much below the Supreme Intelligence in wisdom, power, and goodness, as the works of art are inferior to the wonders of nature. Let naturalists look at the world under such impressions, and evidence will pour in upon us that all creatures are expressions of the thoughts of Him whom we know, love, and adore unseen." — pp. 144 – 146.

How much nobler is this humble recognition of Infinite Power, of a thinking, forecasting Intelligence, than the old Oriental fancy of pantheism, moving on, unconscious, through untold ages, and at last culminating and becoming self-conscious in the mind of man.

He goes on, in the remainder of this and the next chapter, to compare the vegetation, especially the forest vegetation, of the temperate and colder parts of North America, with that of the elevated regions forming in Central Europe the ridge which separates the nations of German tongue from the Roman. The comparison, as laid down on these pages, in parallel catalogues of identical, equivalent, or analogous species of Europe and America, is very remarkable; although, in regard to all the higher plants, Mr. Agassiz is inclined to think that, for the temperate regions, there are no species in the two continents precisely identical. Long familiar with the vegetation of the Alps, on becoming acquainted with that of America, and perceiving this remarkable correspondence and equivalence of species, he yet says he was struck with the great difference in the general aspect. The picturesque impression is entirely different; — a fact which ceases to be surprising when he considers that the mean annual temperature is lowered one degree of Fahrenheit by ascending three hundred feet on the Alps; it is lowered one degree by travelling one degree of latitude, nearly seventy miles, north from Boston. So that we must travel over twenty degrees of latitude, or more than twelve hundred miles, from south to north, — from Boston to Hudson's Bay, for instance, — to pass over the same range of climatic changes as we do in a single day in ascending the Alps, "thus causing a narrow vertical stripe of Alpine flora to correspond to a

broad zone of northern vegetation stretching over a widely expanded horizon." "It is a picture seen in a different perspective, — like the far-reaching shade of a steeple cast under the light of the setting sun, which may change all proportions, and destroy all resemblance between the shade and the object itself."

To make the picture more complete, a comparison is instituted between the present vegetation of the temperate parts of both continents, and the fossil plants of modern geological epochs; and the unexpected conclusion is reached, that the fossil flora of Oeningen, which has been more carefully studied than that of any other locality, has a more intimate resemblance with the trees and shrubs now growing in the eastern part of America, than with those of any other part of the world. We should gladly transfer to our pages the observations accompanying these remarkable investigations; but if we transcribed all that is most interesting, we should transcribe the whole chapter; and so rich and condensed are the observations, that we find them scarcely more capable of abridgment than the lists of plants on which they are founded.

The first aim, in the study of natural history, is to be able to distinguish one object from another, — one object from every other. This is essential. Without it we cannot communicate intelligibly with other persons. We must first, therefore, be able to call each thing by its name. To the superficial observer this seems to be merely a study of names, — of words. It will be soon found, however, to require an attentive consideration of all the observable, external characteristics of the object. Whoever, for example, would make himself familiar with the names of all the plants of a particular district, will find that, inasmuch as many of them will be found to agree in many particulars, and to differ in only a few, he will be obliged to study attentively all the particulars of their external appearance; not only the flowers and fruit, but the stems, leaves, branches, mode of growth, and even the size, and the place of growth. This he will find true of the most common and familiar plants. To be able to call by name even the grasses on the lawn before his house, or in his pasture or field, he will find it necessary to observe attentively, not merely, as is often sup-

posed, the stamens and pistils, which differ but slightly, to the cursory observer, in a great number of species, but almost every assignable particular of the growth, shape, and arrangement of every part, from the flower to the extremity of the root. The observer will soon discover that, by the time he becomes perfectly familiar with the name of each individual species and variety, he will have become familiar with the *appearance* of almost every part, in almost every particular of observable difference. This is equally true of any class of animals, as, for example, of the fishes of a lake, sea, or river, or the birds of a single country. To know them all by name, he will have to study them all very attentively, in every particular which comes within the dominion of the eye. This is almost precisely what Linnæus aimed at, and, with wholly unparalleled success, accomplished, in every department of natural history. He enabled us, by the observation of external characters, to ascertain the name of every plant and animal, and to give it its place in a system. He thus enabled observers, in all parts of the globe, to understand each other, and laid the broad foundations for all the advancement of subsequent science.

To say nothing of what has been done since his time in botany, which would carry us far beyond our purpose and our limits, zoölogy was but little advanced beyond the point at which Linnæus left it, when Cuvier undertook to arrange all known animals according to their natural affinities, "as ascertained by the investigation of their internal structure." The system of Linnæus has been called, and was by himself considered, an artificial system. The object of Cuvier, the ideal towards which, as he thought, natural history ought to aim, was a natural method, — one, that is, in which organized beings of the same genus should be arranged more nearly to each other than to those of any other genus, and genera of the same order nearer than those of all other orders.

"Structure, therefore, internal as well as external, is, according to the principles of Cuvier, the foundation of all natural classifications; and undoubtedly his researches and those of his followers have done more, in the way of improving our natural methods, than all the efforts of former naturalists put together; and this principle will doubtless regulate, in the main, our farther efforts." — p. 191.

This principle Cuvier has successfully applied to the general divisions of the animal kingdom, and to subordinate groups. But it fails as a principle of subordination among the several groups. It is evident enough, too, that he was aware that it failed. When he has divided the fishes, for example, into series, orders, and natural families, he is evidently at a loss which, of several families, ought to be placed highest, and which lowest. So, when he has, with Brongniart, according to their structure, their quantity of respiration, and organs of motion, divided reptiles into the four orders of Tortoises, Lizards, Serpents, and Batrachians, or frog-like reptiles, he can go, with certainty, no farther. He has no clew to lead him to determine whether frogs or toads are the higher animals, or what relative place is to be given to Proteus, Menobranchus, Triton, or Salamandra.

At this point Mr. Agassiz comes in, and, by a principle profound and original, and conceived in the spirit of reverence in which he humbly aspires to penetrate the thought of the Infinite Creator, proposes to rearrange and subordinate the several groups and genera. In form, the principle is twofold; in reality, it is single and one.

In the leading groups of batrachians, the frogs, namely, and the toads, the young issue from the egg as animals completely aquatic, having tails and gills, and destitute of legs. In process of time they undergo a metamorphosis, by which they lose their tails and gills, and acquire legs, and the power of breathing by lungs, and of living in the open air. They are transformed from fish-like animals, living entirely in water and feeding on vegetable food, to quadrupeds, breathing air and feeding on insects. Now Mr. Agassiz proposes to study attentively all the steps of this transformation, from the embryo, newly formed in the egg, to the perfect animal, and to deduce thence the scale according to which their rank shall be assigned. A leading difference between the toad and the frog is, that the latter is better adapted to the water, in several particulars, especially in having more completely webbed feet. In the course of its transformations, the toad is found to have, at one period, webbed feet. It is, at that period, a frog. But the animal stops not there. By a further development, its toes

become separate. It ceases to be a web-footed animal, it ceases to be a frog; it becomes a toad. This last stage in transformation is, then, one step in advance; and the perfect toad is a higher animal than the frog.

From the same principle applied to the other batrachians, Mr. Agassiz infers that those which never lose the tail are to be ranked lower than those which become tailless quadrupeds, "and that the retaining of the gills indicates a lower position than their disappearance"; so that, among the batrachians, "which are best known in their embryology, we can already arrange all the genera in natural series, taking the metamorphosis of the higher as a scale, and placing all full-grown forms in successive order, according to their greater or less resemblance to these transient states."

The other form of the application of the principle is the tracing, in the geological periods, from the more ancient to the more modern, the order of succession in which animals were gradually introduced upon our globe, especially the forms in which animals of the same families made their appearance.

"In my researches," he says, "upon fossil fishes, I have on several occasions alluded to the resemblance which we notice between the early stages of growth in fishes, and the lower forms of their families in the full-grown state, and also to a similar resemblance between the embryonic forms and the earliest representatives of that class in the oldest geological epochs; an analogy which is so close, that it involves another most important principle, viz. that the order of succession in time, of the geological types, agrees with the gradual changes which the animals of our day undergo during their metamorphosis, thus giving us another guide to the manifold relations which exist among animals, allowing us to avail ourselves, for the purpose of classification, of the facts derived from the development of the whole animal kingdom in geological epochs, as well as the development of individual species in our epoch. . . . . .

"If there is any internal evidence that the whole animal kingdom is constructed upon a definite plan, we may find it in the remarkable agreement of our conclusions, whether derived from anatomical evidence, from embryology, or from palæontology. Nothing, indeed, can be more gratifying than to trace the close agreement of the general results derived from the study of the structure of animals, with the results derived from the investigation of their embryonic changes, or from their succession in geological times." — pp. 195 – 197.

From this luminous and fruitful principle, the most decided advance in the philosophy of methodical investigation which has been made since the time of Cuvier, Mr. Agassiz confidently and with great reason expects to introduce improvements in the systematic arrangements of all the classes of animals. It is, indeed, but seeking how the Creator has arranged his creatures, in his successive creations along the periods of time as indicated by geological data, "when they were made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth"; it is seeking how He now arranges the successive steps in each particular act of creation, — "how in continuance the members are fashioned" from the shapeless embryo into the most perfect of animals.

The fishes of Lake Superior are examined with reference to the question of origin. Were they created at some point in the Eastern Continent, and have they gradually spread to this continent and reached this lake, while their progenitors and their lineal descendants have completely died out in the old continent? Or, were they created where they are found? Were they gradually shaped by elementary forces, or at once by some Intelligent Being, who, having formed the lake, formed creatures specifically and precisely adapted to all the circumstances in which he had placed the lake? Are they the work of chance, circumstances, and physical forces? Or, were they made by One who had created and controlled the forces, who formed the circumstances, and then made creatures suited to the circumstances and forces?

With these questions, and others like these, before him, Mr. Agassiz goes into a minute examination of the families of fishes which have representatives in the great lakes. We regret that our space will not allow us to follow him in these investigations. They are full of interest, even for the unscientific. We cannot, however, withhold some facts which are curious in themselves, and also as throwing light upon the processes in his own mind by which he has been led to his comprehensive views of the philosophy of arrangement.

"The first sight I had of a stuffed skin of that fish [Lepidosteus] in the Museum of Carlsruhe, when a medical student in the University of Heidelberg, in 1826, convinced me that this genus stood alone in the class of fishes; and that we could not,

by any possibility, associate it with any of the types of living fishes, nor succeed in finding, among living types, any one to associate fairly with it. It was a fact, at once deeply impressed upon my mind, that it stands isolated among all living beings." — pp. 259, 260.

This early impression led him gradually to his peculiar views respecting classification, and has been a guide to him in appreciating degrees of relationship, and in avoiding fanciful attempts to classify without a previous full knowledge of the beings to be classified, gathered from an examination of the different parts and periods of creation. Under this guidance he was led to observe the differences in the classes of fishes in the early geological ages, and how widely they differ from most fishes now existing.

The opportunity afforded him by Cuvier, of studying the *skeleton* of a gar-pike, showed him "that these fishes have reptilian characters." The fishes formed after the creation of reptiles had less and less of this character, until it disappeared entirely, and the gar-fish alone remains to remind us of the fishes of this ancient type. The study of a specimen preserved in alcohol, in the British Museum, showed him still more fully the reptilian character of the gar-fish, as evidenced by its *internal* structure.

"One step further was made during this excursion, when, at Niagara, a living specimen of Lepidosteus was caught for me, and to my great delight, as well as to my utter astonishment, I saw this fish moving its head upon the neck freely, right and left and upwards, as a Saurian, and as no other fish in creation does. . . . . .

"Investigations into the embryonic growth of recent fishes have led me to the discovery that the changes which they undergo agree, in many respects, in a very remarkable manner, with the differences which we notice between the fossils of different ages. . . . . This fact, so simple in itself, and apparently so natural, is of the utmost importance in the history of animal life. It has gradually led me to more extensive views, and to the conviction that embryonic investigations might throw as much light upon the successive development of the animal kingdom during the successive geological periods, as upon the physiological development of individual animals; and, indeed, I can now show, through all classes of the animal kingdom, that the oldest representatives of any family agree closely with the embryonic stages of the

higher types of the living representatives of the same families; or, in other words, that the order of succession of animals, through all classes and families, agrees, in a most astonishing measure, with the degrees of development of young animals of the present age." — pp. 261, 262.

A full and minute examination of the fishes of Lake Superior leads him to the conclusion, that, although the way is entirely open between the lakes, there are many types in Lake Superior which are found in none of the other lakes, and many in the others which are not found in that. Coming to the examination of particulars: —

"All the fresh-water fishes of the district under examination are peculiar to that district, and occur nowhere else in any other part of the world. . . . . .

"Such facts have an important bearing upon the history of creation, and it would be very unphilosophical to adhere to any view respecting its plan, which would not embrace these facts, and grant them their full meaning. If we face the fundamental question which is at the bottom of this particular distribution of animals, and ask ourselves, where have all these fishes been created, there can be but one answer given which will not be in conflict and direct contradiction with the facts themselves, and the laws that regulate animal life. The fishes, and all other fresh-water animals of the region of the great lakes, must have been created where they live. . . . . .

"It cannot be rational to suppose that they were created in some other part of the world, and were transferred to this continent, to die away in the region where they are supposed to have originated, and to multiply in the region where they are found. There is no reason why we should not take the present evidence in their distribution as the natural fact respecting their origin, and that they are, and were from the beginning, best suited for the country where they are now found." — pp. 375, 376.

Then, as to the peculiarities in animals nearly related to each other and yet different: —

"There are lakes of small extent and of most uniform features, in which two or three species of trout occur together, each with peculiar habits; one more migratory, running up rivers during the spawning season, etc., while the other will never enter running waters, and will spawn in quiet places near the shore; one will hunt after its prey, while the other will wait for it in ambuscade; one will feed upon fish, the other upon insects. . . . . .

"Now I ask, where is there, within the natural geographical

limits of distribution of Salmonidæ, a discriminating power between the physical elements under which they live, which could have introduced those differences? A discriminating power which, allotting to all certain characters, should have modified others to such an extent as to produce apparently different types under the same modification of the general plan of structure. Why should there be, at the same time, under the same circumstances, under the same geographical distribution, white-fishes with the habits of trout, — spawning like them in the fall, growing their young like them during winter, — if there were not an infinitely wise, supreme Power, if there were not a personal God, who, having first designed, created the universe, and modelled our solar system, called successively, at different epochs, such animals into existence under the different circumstances prevailing over various parts of the globe, as would suit best this general plan, according to which man was at last to be placed at the head of creation?" — pp. 329, 330.

We would gladly exhibit to our readers how Mr. Agassiz set himself at work to state, to study, and, as far as he could, to solve, the great problems which presented themselves upon a survey of Lake Superior.

To the first of these, how Lake Superior came to have the shape it now has, he finds, in the directions of the several systems of trap-dykes a complete solution, and traces even the smaller lines in the boundary of the lake to the influence of these plutonic formations. The theory is ingenious and satisfactory, and, so far as we know, original.

There is but a single other subject which we can find room to notice. It is the origin suggested by Mr. Agassiz for the copper of Lake Superior. He believes it to be wholly plutonic, and that the larger masses were thrown up in a molten state, in a region whose centre was somewhere near Point Keewenaw. The character of the ores agrees with this theory; the oxides being near that point, and the sulphurets and carbonates more distant.

But we are doing great injustice to these comprehensive and original views, and still more to the lofty philosophical spirit in which they are discussed, by setting down only the conclusions to which he was led. It is like bringing away here and there a block from the capitals of the pillars of the Parthenon, in order to give an idea of the magnificence of the structure as it came from the hands of Phidias. The marbles are intelligible

to those only who have seen the temple, or who have such knowledge of the principles on which it was built that they could restore it if it were in ruins. The few such as these last will have already seen the volume upon Lake Superior. To all others we warmly recommend it. G. B. E.

Art. III. — BAKEWELL ON A FUTURE LIFE.*

Next to the being and providence of God, the question which has more profoundly moved the heart of man than any other is that which relates to the immortality of the soul. Nor is it to be wondered at. To man it is a question of absolutely infinite moment, including in itself all that can most deeply agitate the affections, the conscience, the hopes, or the fears. Is the friend, the parent, the child, who is gone, lost out of existence, dead to live no more? As our feet slip on the crumbling brink of the grave, are we sliding into the bottomless gulf of annihilation? Or is that which we call death but the translation of the spirit to a higher form of life?

Our faith in a future state of existence depends on the revelations of Christ. To these we owe our assured confidence in the reality of the immortal life.

But on a subject of such interest the mind seeks all possible confirmations of its faith. The constantly recurring physical phenomena of death, and the bereavements and afflictions to which we are subject, make it impossible for the question to become obsolete. It has the same fresh and absorbing interest for the parent who now lays a child away in the tomb, as it had for Cicero or Plato. And the Christian, if he needs it less, hardly less than the philosopher of old is impelled to seek for all that can sustain his faith, in the human soul, in nature, and in the order of Providence.

The progress of modern science has brought up the

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* *Natural Evidence of a Future Life, derived from the Properties and Actions of Animate and Inanimate Matter. A Contribution to Natural Theology, designed as a Sequel to the Bridgewater Treatises.* By Frederick C. Bakewell. Second Edition. London. 1840.

principal questions of religion under somewhat new forms. As the laws of God in the natural world are better understood, the Christian looks anxiously to see whether in these disclosures of science he is to find a confirmation of his faith. With regard to the doctrine of man's immortality, are the discoveries of science in harmony with it, or opposed to it? Is science the ally or foe of faith?

Those who have of late treated of the evidences or of the great principles of our religion, have felt that these questions were of fundamental importance. They have seen that, if Christianity be true, its great principles must find increasing illustration and support in the increased knowledge of God's laws and providence, as exhibited in the natural world. And, with different degrees of success, various writers have endeavoured to show the bearings of modern science on revelation.

The work at the head of this article belongs to this class. It seems to us one of the most valuable among the recent contributions to natural theology. It is not a restatement of old arguments, but, whatever its value, is a positive addition to theological literature. It enters into a new field of illustration and argument. If it should not be to all minds entirely satisfactory, if sometimes a particular point is pressed quite as far as it can bear, the general value of the work is not affected, and no one can read it, we think, without feeling that it is only our ignorance of nature which can allow us to imagine that we shall ever find any thing in the works of God contradictory to revelation.

Our object is to present in a condensed form the substance of the argument which, with great variety of illustration, Mr. Bakewell has expanded over a large volume. He confines himself to a single topic. He does not attempt to show what is the nature of the soul, nor what its condition hereafter, but he endeavours to prove that we have in the phenomena of nature convincing evidence that the mind survives the dissolution of the body.

The reasonings are analogical. Their force depends mainly on two facts, of which modern science furnishes so many striking illustrations; — first, that the visible phenomena of the material world are brought about by more subtile agents, which reveal themselves to our senses only

by the effects they produce; and, secondly, that these agents are not destroyed by the material changes through which they pass, and with which they are connected.

If the argument is not of itself a basis for faith in the immortality of the soul sufficient to satisfy us, it will at least — and this is the purpose for which we use it — show that science and revelation are in harmony, and that for the doctrine which we receive on the authority of revelation, science furnishes perpetual suggestion, illustration, and support. It shows that science furnishes a strong presumption in favor of the truth of this doctrine, while it entirely sets aside and annuls the objections which materialism and skepticism have brought against it from the phenomena of nature.

At the outset, when we look on the natural world, we observe two entirely distinct classes of existences; — first, certain *material forms*, and, secondly, certain *forces* which lie underneath, and which are immediately active in producing and sustaining these forms. The savage sees little more than the *form*, — sees the tree, the stream, the cloud, the star. Science directs our attention to invisible *forces*, too subtile for our eyes to see, which cause the tree to grow and the planet to revolve in its orbit. The tree grows, and puts forth branch and bud and leaf. This is all that the eye sees. It is an organization of certain elements of matter. Science teaches that there must be some *organizing power* distinct from that which is *organized*, which it calls the principle of vegetable life. This power, when circumstances are prepared for its action, builds up water and earth into a tree. When this power is withdrawn, the tree dies. On this power all vegetable nature immediately depends for existence. The stone thrown into the air falls to the ground; the stream descends towards the sea; the planet is held in its appointed track; and science affirms that these outward visible results are dependent on an invisible force which pervades the universe, and which it calls gravitation. The summer cloud rises and darkens the sun. Science affirms that its folds embosom a subtile agent, which it calls electricity, but which makes itself apparent to us only when from its ambush in the heavens it darts forth its flaming arrows on the affrighted nations. Thus science directs our attention not only to the *changing forms of gross*

matter, but still more to the *forces entirely distinct in character which underlie these forms*, produce them, sustain, or dissolve them, again to be reorganized. It affirms that these forces are realities, — in truth, the all-important ones, holding the same relation to these changing forms through which they manifest their existence, that the human mind does to the voice, or to the symbolic marks on the page through which it makes manifest some of its thoughts or emotions.

In the next place, science affirms that, so far as we can ascertain, *nothing absolutely perishes*, — not a grain of sand, not a blade of grass; it may change its form, its elements may dissolve and be combined in new forms, but not a particle perishes. This is true of the grosser kinds of matter which the human eye can see. If this be true of that which is coarse and gross, the outside husk, we cannot doubt, for additional reasons, that it is equally true of those more subtile essences which elude our dull and blunt senses; and this science affirms to be the case.

Take, for example, the principle of heat. The common theory supposes it to be a subtile fluid which pervades all substances. When the quantity of heat which any body contains is not greater than its capacity, the heat does not appear; in philosophical phrase, it is latent. Diminish the capacity, and the heat becomes perceptible. Thus ebbing and flowing through all bodies are tides of this subtile essence, which is perceptible only when the quantity is greater than the capacity of a body to contain it.

Now mark, in the first place, how it permeates all bodies, — nothing too solid, nothing too subtile. Joined with the solar beam, it shoots through space with the rapidity of light. At another time it propagates itself inch by inch through the length of the heated rod, or penetrates into the softening soil of spring. These grosser forms of matter cannot shut it out and cannot keep it in.

Secondly, mark its indestructibility. It changes its place, but does not perish. When the ice-island floats down from the polar seas into the milder zones, it chills the air for leagues around. But not a particle of the heat is destroyed. It is merely subtracted from the atmosphere to be absorbed and to become latent in the melting ice. Or, to pursue the illustration further, with only

a certain amount of heat present, it is ice. Add a little more, and it is water; add still more, and the water is converted into steam, with power to rend into fragments the mightiest works of man. On the other hand, withdraw the heat by bringing it into contact with some colder substance to absorb it, and the steam is converted into water, and the water into ice again. In all these processes the amount of heat is not diminished; it only shifts its place, its abode, in these grosser kinds of matter, through which it manifests itself to our senses.

Then observe its power and supremacy over these grosser kinds of matter through which it so freely permeates. Let it be accumulated in little larger quantities, and it consumes the diamond, it turns a forest into ashes, it warms the winter hearth-stone, it flames in the conflagration of capital cities, it has melted, so science says, the solid foundations of the globe. Thus this essence, which the grosser kinds of matter can neither shut out nor shut in, when its power is awakened, can consume, dissolve, and, like a tempest, whirl their ashes and elemental atoms into the clouds. And it matters not what the theory of heat may be, — a substance, or some peculiar motion in the primary particles of matter. If the latter, there must still be some power to move them, and, so far as the point we have in view is concerned, the illustration remains the same.

Now skepticism teaches that the physical changes in death are so great, that we have every reason to suppose that the soul perishes in the dissolution of the body.

On the other hand, science brings up in opposition to skepticism a case which, for the purpose in view, is strictly analogous, which shows that the greatest changes, nay, the dissolution of the grosser, does not involve the dissolution of the more subtile element.

The element of heat in the dissolution of a body may disappear from us, become latent, be hid, or reappear in other substances, but is not destroyed or diminished, nor is its essential nature changed. From this known case, science affirms that the dissolution of this gross body gives us not a shadow of reason to imagine that the thinking principle, which animates the mortal frame, lifts the hand, utters itself through its breath, is in the least affected by the dissolution of the body. The analogy of

science teaches us to believe that when the grosser form decays, the soul, the more refined essence, leaves it for another abode. Or, to adopt the language of the Apostle, when the natural body decays, it leaves the soul to manifest itself in other spheres in a spiritual body. Comparing it with the grain of wheat, he says, it is sown a natural body and is raised a spiritual body. We are created for a spiritual and immortal state, but flesh and blood, he says, that is, these mortal frames, cannot inherit the kingdom of God; they belong to the earth and cannot enter the spiritual state; therefore we shall be changed, the dead shall be raised incorruptible, this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality. Remarkable words, which, but for some peculiarities of phraseology, may now be used to express the analogies drawn from the profoundest discoveries of modern science.

Similar analogies may be drawn from nearly every department of science. Electricity; — it pervades the whole natural world, it ebbs and flows restlessly through this vast fabric of nature. It is, as it were, the nervous energy of the earth. Diffused and at rest, it is harmless, tranquil, imperceptible as the calm of the summer evening. Accumulated and set in motion, it thunders along the clouds, it flashes down from the heavens, and rends into fragments tower and bulwark. It changes its place, is sometimes unperceived, sometimes apparent, but through all changes exists. If the whole gross material of the earth were destroyed, this power might be let loose into space, but we cannot imagine it to be destroyed, any more than light would be annihilated, if there were no eye to see it or earth on which it could shine. The moment science penetrates through this gross matter it reaches these more subtile essences. Whatever they may be, they are forces, powers, realities. They manifest themselves through the world, and shape the world. Instead of the dull clod or granite mass controlling them, or giving or withholding their existence, they are embosomed within these forces, and in their tremendous grasp and environment are quickened into life or blasted with death, are melted, rent, withered, dissolved, or remoulded and reorganized into new forms. The grosser forms and the more subtile elements are indeed blended together, but in

any deadly strife the former perish and the latter remain. And so all the analogies of science teach that, when the body is dissolved, the informing spirit which dwells within it is but as the prisoner let loose when his prison-walls are broken down.

The same analogies may be drawn from gravitation, which can cause two pebbles, though a thousand millions of miles apart in empty space, to approach and find each other; — from magnetism, whose invisible currents envelop the globe, and which from every point reaches up as it were an unseen finger to steady the needle to the pole; — from this wondrous element of light, falling in floods out of the sky, now with us and yet but a few minutes ago in the sun; — from the mysterious forces which lie at the heart of all vegetable life, which are not produced by, but which produce, the organization of the vegetable world; — and still more from that principle of animal life which organizes coarse material elements into a living frame, and for years supports its energies and recruits its wasting strength.

And here new analogies appear, in the transformations of animated nature. There are cases where the progress from one form or condition of existence to another is made visible to us. It is one of the most interesting studies of natural science, to trace the same living being as it is manifested in different and successive forms. Science describes insects, which, in different stages of being, live in different elements. At first, perhaps, an individual of this class lives in the water, a mere worm, its whole organization adapted to that state, and dying if taken from it. At length it passes through a lethargic state like death, during which this organization is thrown off; it bursts forth in a totally different form, with new organs and new sensations, and emerges from the water to dart, a winged thing, through the air, with powers adapted to its new state of existence. And thus, with the instinctive perceptions of his race and clime, the Greek sculptured the butterfly upon the tomb, as a symbol which nature gave that the dissolution of the body was but a loosening of the soul for higher modes of life.

It is an emblem of the change of death, as described by Paul, — a progress from the imperfect to the more perfect state. The soul leaves the natural body to man-

ifest itself in a spiritual one, the corruptible puts on incorruption, and the mortal immortality.

These cases, and they might be accumulated to any extent, utterly neutralize and throw aside the skeptical idea, that the dissolution of the body destroys the soul; for science shows that the order of nature is that the grosser elements are but the forms and vehicles of the more subtile essences, and that the dissolution of the former, though it may displace, does not destroy, or change, or diminish the latter.

They show more, — that the grosser elements constitute only the transient forms, while these invisible, impalpable essences are the powers which organize and vivify the visible world. Just as the lifting of the hand shows the presence and determination of the mind, so the revolving seasons, the thunder-storm and falling dew, the springing verdure, the rushing stream, the planets held in their orbits, and the higher forms of animated existence, are but effects, and show the presence and action of invisible forces, like heat, electricity, chemical attraction, gravitation, and the principles of animal and vegetable life, — these invisible powers on which the visible world reposes, and by which it is organized into its myriad forms of beauty and grandeur and life.

And they go farther still. These subtile elements bridge over the space which to our imagination separates the material and spiritual worlds. There is a gradation proceeding on from the grossest forms of matter till we are lost in the realms of spirit. Light and heat, — philosophers contend as to their nature. If matter, they are matter almost divested of its materiality. Gravitation, electricity, magnetism, chemical attraction, — who can bring these within any of the common definitions of matter? The principles of vegetable and animal life, which out of water and the clod can organize an oak that throws out its mighty arms in defiance against the storms of a century, or from the elements of death can shape the elastic sinews of the stag, or the vigor of an eagle's wing, — what resemblance have these to our common idea of matter? And still more may this be said of that power of mind, which rules the body, which is not chained to the present, which holds in its grasp departed ages, and darts companioned by the light into the remotest realms of

space. Thus science takes us on step by step to the horizon of matter, and even then does not leave us till she has conducted us into the suburbs of the spiritual world. She shows that this material world, which we are so occupied with, and which skepticism would call every thing, is but the crust and screen, the form and vehicle and material to be wrought, of invisible forces whose resistless tides flow through and underlie this shell of matter. She makes us familiar with forces and powers, to which all that we commonly mean by the word *matter* is but an instrument and medium of manifestation. She shows that these forces are not created by, but, separate or combined, create, the material forms, make them to exist as they are, and do not depend on them for existence. And while doing this, she brings us already into the circle of spiritual agencies.

Our purpose in presenting these illustrations is not to prove from the light of nature a future life, but only to show that science is the ally of faith. They are at least sufficient to show that science utterly rejects and repudiates all the common notions of skepticism on this subject; that, to use the most qualified terms, she removes all antecedent improbability from the doctrine of a future state, and thus prepares us to receive, not with a blind assent, but with the profoundest conviction of a reasonable mind, the great doctrine of the soul's immortality.

Thus science suggests what revelation affirms, that the fundamental law of nature is progress, — from the imperfect to the more perfect, from matter to spirit, from the corruptible to incorruption, from the mortal to immortality. Death is but a stage, a landing-place, in the eternal progress. Dark and fearful it doubtless is, and was intended to be. For there are broken ties of love, and farewells to the familiar scenes of earth, and the pathway into the untried world which must be trod alone, the summing up of the results of life and the righteous awards of heaven; and when such dread events accumulate on a point, well may we stand in awe, as we look into the gates of the tomb. But still it is a part of the everlasting progress.

The dead! Where are they? We are pointed down to the earth. There they lie, in ranks of graves which the current of ages has levelled, the hundred generations of the past. We who live are but the survivors of this vast shipwreck of time.

Ah! not so! We who live! — there is the mistake. We, just emerging from dust and eternal sleep, — we hardly understand what life is. We have so lately left the shore of death and nothingness that its lethargy still clings to us. We are but awaking. Our feeble affections, our halting aspirations, our faltering gropings after truth and good, are but omens and foreshadowings of what we shall be when these principles are fully awakened, and the soul, the man, lives. Not we, — it is the dead who live! The encumbrance of the flesh thrown off, ushered into a higher sphere, with new faculties, with expanded powers, going on from progress to progress, they know what it is to live. While we grope in earth and night, they are companions of angels, and glide through space with the sun. By all the ages that have past since their bodies fell off into dust, they are in advance of us.

This earth and these senses all! The heavens, so science suggests and all but affirms, are thronged with the uncounted myriads that have passed from night and death to immortal life, — no longer, as when on the earth, chained and dungeoned in sense, but clothed with an immortal body. There all infirmities are thrown off. The blind and deaf see and hear. Innocent children, whom their parents mourn, have there put on the wings of angels. The sick and maimed and palsy-struck, and those bent and worn with years and frailties, have drunk of the fountain of immortal youth. There is the open vision. There is the bright side of the cloud of death, — so black as we behold it from beneath, while on the other side glows and shines the light of immortality. The dead, who have passed through that black cloud from our sight, have emerged into the regions of immortal day. The dead! they fill this infinite space, empty to us only because we are blind. Truly sings the poet, in sublime strains, which still only feebly embody the suggestions of science and the affirmations of religion: —

> "We know in day-time there are stars about us,
> Just as at night, although to our gross eyes
> Invisible. . . . . So by faith
> Although we may not see them, still we know
> That spirits are about us, and believe
> That, to a spirit's eye, all heaven may be
> As full of angels, as a beam of light of motes."

And, with all our worldliness, we feel as if there were

starry influences, the presence and power of these beings around and above us. Our memories of the past and thoughts of the future have a different hue because of our faith. Our departed friends are now still more and unchangeably our friends. Good men behold us from their seats in heaven. Myriads of mourning parents look up, and know that their children are awaiting their coming. An atmosphere of heavenly affections broods over the earth, and unawares the souls of men are softened, and their affections made more hallowed and pure.

Faith changes the earth itself. It ceases to be a sepulchre. Faith transforms what otherwise were a dark cave, all way of egress blocked up and ending in despair, into the porch and entrance-way to a celestial temple. We have higher objects for which to live, and holy hopes to accompany us when we die; for death shall carry us into the realm of the glorified departed. O that we may be prepared for their society! Voices of the venerable and the good, the pure and the loved, — how do they speak to our hearts! Could the dread silence of the senses be broken, how would they pursue our steps with anxious warnings and tender encouragements! Who shall doubt that they implore Heaven's blessing on dear ones yet walking amidst the temptations of the earth? Ye blessed spirits, God grant that we may not be utterly faithless to your love! God grant that our souls, when the hour of departure comes, may, through the mercy of Heaven, be prepared for the society of the redeemed, — that ours may be the faith and the life that shall give us the victory over death and the grave! E. P.

Art. IV. — MIRACLES.

Hume says that all experience is against miracles, and therefore it is more probable that a miracle is false than that the evidence offered for it is true. He assumes that miracles have never taken place in order to prove that they have never taken place. Still it must be admitted that his succinct antithesis presents in a striking light the

difficulty of proving miracles, in consequence of the failure of our ordinary standards of probability when we attempt to judge of the truth or falsehood of events professedly supernatural. But that this difficulty amounts to an impossibility is simply his assumption. An appeal to men's experience to show that miracles have never been wrought, makes ignorance the standard of truth. This argument would prove to most men that Newton never lived, for most men have had no experience of such a man. The Indian prince alluded to by Mr. Hume, who had always seen water fluid and therefore would not believe in the existence of ice, proved from experience that ice does not exist, just as Mr. Hume proves from experience that miracles have not occurred.

All experience is in favor of the truth of such evidence as we have never known to prove false. When accumulated to a certain amount, we trust it as much as we do our senses. Suppose a supernatural appearance were to fill the sky of New York for a week, would there be no possibility of proving to the citizens of Boston that such an appearance had occurred? And if a cross, like the legendary cross of Constantine, were to appear in the sky of Asia, blazing with words of solemn warning, which should be read at the same moment by all the inhabitants of that continent, each in his own tongue, would it be impossible to prove to the people of America that such a miracle had occurred?

What is the meaning of proving an occurrence? Nothing but mathematical truths can be demonstrated. Matters of fact can only be made probable, and what we call proving them is establishing their probability to such a degree, that it becomes wise men to reason and act upon the assumption that they are true rather than that they are false. Is it possible for any man to remain entirely unaffected by any imaginable amount of evidence for a miracle? But if we admit that a certain amount can excite attention, we must admit that an additional amount will establish a probability, and a still greater amount produce a conviction. In the case supposed just now, of the appearance of a miraculous cross in the sky of Asia, would not the story of such an appearance excite unbounded interest in the rest of the world? Would not inquiries into its truth be universal,

and prosecuted with intense eagerness? Would not men take for granted, that such a miracle could be proved by evidence, and thus practically disown the argument of Hume? It is a plain matter of fact, established by experience, as clearly as are the laws of nature, that evidence, direct and indirect, may be accumulated to such a degree, as to produce as strong a conviction as we receive from impressions made on our senses. To reason, as Hume does, that testimony has been known to deceive, and therefore any amount of it may prove false, is much like saying that water has been known to evaporate, and therefore the ocean may dry up.

Hume appeals to general experience to disprove general belief. But whence does the general belief in miracles come? If miracles have occurred, we can see why they are believed, and why spurious ones have gained credit. But if no miracles have occurred, why are they so generally believed by men who have in their breasts an infallible test of their incredibility? That Locke and Newton, and Butler and Pascal, should have believed what experience demonstrates to be incapable of proof is passing strange.

In arguing from experience, as a sure ground of belief, and contrasting it with testimony, Mr. Hume puts out of sight the fact, that testimony enters to a vast extent into what he calls the experience of the laws of nature. No man knows that there are universal laws of nature by his own experience. How do I know that water ran down hill in Palestine two thousand years ago? Certainly not by my own experience. It is by testimony. If a man's own observation of the laws of nature had never been confirmed by testimony, he would believe, on a very moderate degree of testimony, that the laws of nature vary in different places. The universality of the laws of nature is established mainly by testimony, and testimony may show that they have been interrupted.

The science of geology furnishes indisputable proofs of many miraculous changes in the order of nature. It demonstrates, from the animal remains imbedded in the earth, that the inhabitants of the earth have been often changed by the extinction of the races existing at certain periods, and the creation of new ones. So that expe-

rience, instead of being against miracles, is now in favor of miracles.

The spirit of Hume's argument against testimony applies to the evidence of our senses, for they have often deceived us. So that it seems a fair inference from his proposition to say, that we ought not to believe a miracle to have happened, even if we had in its favor the evidence of all men, confirmed by our own senses. In other words, we ought not to believe it if we had the same evidence of it that we have of the laws of nature.

In reading Hume's Essay, the fact which most strikes us is, that the author, after elaborating his argument through a long treatise, expressly repudiates it at the conclusion, where he says, that there may be an amount of evidence sufficient to prove a miracle, if the miracle be not of a religious character, but that men are so credulous in regard to religious miracles, that a philosopher will reject them all with contempt. But this is equivalent to saying, that a fact which has been proved beyond question is disproved as soon as it is seen to have a religious character. In fact, Hume's celebrated Essay is shown, by its conclusion, to be a mere effusion of spite against revealed religion. No man who was convinced by his own argument could fall into such inconsistency.

Hume argues the question of miracles as if we knew nothing of God or of Christ. He shuts his eyes to the fact, that nature shows God to be benevolent, and that his benevolence might have induced him to make a revelation for the good of men. He who established the laws of nature to give confidence to men's calculations, may have interrupted them to give confidence to men's religious belief. Hume is also blind to the confirmation which the Christian miracles derive from the great standing miracle of Christianity, the character of Christ. He who spake as never man spake, and lived as never man lived, may reasonably be supposed to have done what never man did. If Christ's wisdom was supernatural, is it strange that his works should have been so too? And, on the other hand, if his teachings indicate no supernatural wisdom, what but supernatural works could have given them their wonderful hold on the minds of men?

Hume overlooks, also, the argument in favor of the Christian miracles, which is furnished by the lives of those

who attest them. It is as certain as any law of nature, that no body of men will live and die as the Christian witnesses did, except from a strong conviction of the truth of what they attested. They spoke the truth, or they were deluded. If they were deluded, Christ was an impostor. But all his miracles are more credible than that.

Hume, in speaking of Berkeley (Essays, Vol. II., page 180), says, — "That all his arguments, though otherwise intended, are in reality merely skeptical, appears from this, that they admit of no answer and produce no conviction. Their only effect is to cause that momentary amazement and irresolution and confusion which is the result of skepticism." On most minds this is the only effect of Hume's own argument respecting miracles. The argument has little effect on the great majority of those who fairly examine the Christian evidences, because it is practically refuted by the conviction which follows the investigation. The mischief which it does is by preventing investigation, and promoting infidelity among the indolent, the careless, and the superficial. E. W.

Art. V. — MISS MARTINEAU'S REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH.*

The second volume of Miss Martineau's work does not upon the whole confirm the favorable opinion respecting her general candor, impartiality, and accuracy, which we were led to form by her success in the previous volume. As she approaches the events of the last ten years, she loses the command over her own prejudices which she maintained in the earlier portions of her narrative. Her History becomes a partisan production; and her statements and opinions must be received with great qualification. Yet she nowhere shows that modesty which does not reflect discredit on her sex when discussing political questions, about which, from the very nature of things, they can know but little. Her opinions are stated in the same downright and emphatic manner, and there is the

* *The History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace*, 1816–1846. By Harriet Martineau. Vol. II. 1830–1846. London: Charles Knight. 1850. 4to. pp. 721.

same tendency towards unwise and impracticable theories in political economy, that we were compelled to condemn when reviewing the first half of her History.* Besides these defects, we miss in her second volume the formidable array of trustworthy authorities which strengthened her text in the former instance. This, however, is owing in a measure to a comparative lack of published authorities for this part of her task; but still there are many valuable contemporary works which she might have consulted, and of which little or no mention is made. It is with no small regret, therefore, that we find the London Spectator is almost her only authority on many subjects. Again, she has not been so elaborate in her accounts of many important and instructive events as is desirable; and in several instances she has omitted to speak of circumstances which were in their own time justly regarded as of startling importance, and which actually shook the kingdom through its whole length and breadth. Thus, her history of the Reform Bill is particularly meagre; and the student who would fully understand the principles of that measure, and have a clear idea of the unexampled excitement attending its passage, must still pursue his painful way through the dreary waste of Hansard's Parliamentary Debates and the various publications of the day. The sad story of Lady Flora Hastings, too, is well-nigh winked out of sight; yet no one who is at all conversant with recent English politics can ever forget the sensation caused by her early death, and the storm of vituperation poured on the heads of a ministry whose greatest fault was a strong desire that the morals of the court of Queen Victoria should differ from the morals of the court of King Charles the Second. It was much about that time that Lord John Russell declared on the floor of Parliament, in words which only too well indicated the state of the public mind: — "When professions of extraordinary respect are made, I cannot forget that no sovereign of this country has been insulted in such a manner as her present Majesty." Of the particular points of difference between ourselves and Miss Martineau we shall speak elsewhere.

The well-deserved unpopularity which rested on George the Fourth during the greater part of his reign,

* *Christian Examiner*, No. 156, Article II.

undoubtedly added much to the enthusiasm which hailed the accession of his brother, William, Duke of Clarence. Everywhere the mass of the people gave full and free expression to their satisfaction, in even more extravagant outbursts of loyalty than are usual on such occasions; and the new king soon acquired an almost unbounded popularity. Although he possessed no fixed political principles, and was certainly inferior to his elder brother in intellectual endowments, he was frank, open-hearted, and candid in his business transactions; and his memory is entitled to a respectful consideration, which we must withhold from the wretched profligate whom he succeeded. So far as he had any clear ideas on questions of governmental policy he was a moderate Whig, and was inclined to support the measures of that party; but Queen Adelaide was a decided Tory, and her influence was not unfrequently exerted to thwart her husband's ministers. Indeed, the downfall of the Whig administration, in 1834, was openly ascribed to the undue exercise of her influence. At the commencement of his reign, however, William indicated an intention of keeping clear of the shoals of party politics, and invited the members of the existing administration to retain their places. After transacting some necessary business, but still leaving the all-important question of a Regency untouched, Parliament was dissolved; and a new Parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 26th of October, 1830. Both parties at once began to prepare for the great struggle which was to decide how England was henceforth to be governed, — whether by the personal friend of the fugitive Polignac, or by the friend and disciple of Mr. Fox, — by an administration which believed that it was impossible to improve the representative system of the country, or by an administration which would secure an efficient Reform in Parliament, and carry on the government upon liberal principles. Whilst every mail from the Continent brought news of some great popular triumph, the same battle was fiercely waged throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

The elections showed how great and widely diffused was the unpopularity of the Wellington administration, which had hopelessly offended the High Church party by granting Catholic Emancipation, while, on the other hand,

it had never possessed, and could not expect to gain, the confidence of the Whigs or of the Canningites. Everywhere ministers were defeated, or triumphed only by greatly reduced majorities; and it was not without a severe struggle that the members of the cabinet themselves obtained seats. Yet it is worthy of notice, that, though a large majority of the members returned stood opposed to the existing administration, there were so many different shades of opinion in the new House that the Whigs did not possess a working majority, even if they were not actually in a minority. This fact is important in estimating the difficulties under which Earl Grey subsequently undertook the government. Many of the Opposition members were even more bitterly opposed to the Whigs than they were to the Duke of Wellington himself. But at the very opening of the session they exhibited the most determined hostility to the ministry. Upon all sides and by all parties the Duke's government was fiercely assailed, as "the most incompetent administration that had ever been in England." For instance, upon the discussion of the address in answer to the king's speech, in the House of Commons, Lord Althorp, after declaring that he should support every measure of which he really approved, from whatever source it might emanate, added:—"At the same time, feeling as he at present did with respect to the existing administration, he should certainly not object to any proposition the tendency of which might be to displace them." Such was the general feeling in the Lower House. In the Lords, Earl Grey said:—"Through my whole life I have advocated Reform, and I have thought that, if it were not attended to in time, the people would lose all confidence in Parliament, and we must make up our minds to witness the destruction of the Constitution." In another part of the same speech he reiterated this opinion. "I say, my Lords," was his emphatic language, "that preparations ought to be made to revise the Constitution, to extend its blessings, and to secure the affection of the people, to insure their tranquillity, and confirm their confidence in the legislature, and in a king who only lives for the good of his subjects."

It was evident that no ministry could long resist such assaults without the utmost prudence on the part of its members; but the closing speech of the prime minister

in answer to Earl Grey destroyed all hope that his party would be able to retain power. In the very face of a strong Opposition, his Grace had the folly to declare, that the system of representation in Parliament was so perfect that it would be impossible to improve it or to devise another system as good. Referring to Earl Grey's remarks on Parliamentary Reform, he made the memorable declaration which was the immediate cause of his downfall. "He was not only not prepared," he said, "to bring forward any measure of this nature, but he would at once declare, that, as far as he was concerned, as long as he held any station in the government of the country, he should always feel it his duty to resist such measures when proposed by others." Two nights after this fatal declaration, the Earl of Winchilsea attacked the ministry even more vehemently than any one who had preceded him. According to Hansard,—

"He implored their Lordships to consider the situation of the country, and place before his Majesty, in strong but respectful terms, their want of confidence in his Majesty's advisers, and point out to his Majesty the necessity of placing the government in the hands of men of more political honesty and integrity than the present ministers, and more capable of discharging the duties of ministers of the crown. Such was their unpopularity, that he believed, were it not for the influence of their office, they could not find in the new Parliament fifty votes to support their administration. For the peace and safety of the country, he hoped ere long to see another set of men in their places, for they could not hold office, without endangering all the institutions of the country." *

There was no division upon the question of adopting the address; but it was very apparent that the prospects of the ministry had been greatly damaged by the debate, and people were eagerly looking forward to their resignation. That event soon took place. Within a fortnight they were left in a decided minority in the House of Commons, and at once resigned. Earl Grey was then intrusted with the task of forming a new ministry.

For the first time in the course of a long and honorable life, this venerable and venerated statesman found himself in a position where his rare talents could be di-

* Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, I. 198, 199.

rectly exerted in the service of his country. "At an age," says Mr. Macaulay, in his essay on Warren Hastings, "when most of those who distinguish themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships at college, he had won for himself a conspicuous place in Parliament. No advantage of fortune or connection was wanting that could set off to the height his splendid talents and his unblemished honor. At twenty-three he had been thought worthy to be ranked with the veteran statesmen who appeared, as the delegates of the British commons, at the bar of the British nobility." But from the very dawn of his political career, with the exception of a brief period in 1806, under the Grenville administration, he had been excluded from all participation in the government of the country, and had been doomed to a hopeless opposition. Now, however, the dreams of his early ambition were about to be realized; and all eyes were turned to him as the man who was to renovate the corrupted institutions of his country. Well might men then exclaim, in the noble language with which the poet Rogers addressed him only four years later: —

> "Grey, thou hast served, and well, the sacred cause
> That Hampden, Sidney, died for. Thou hast stood,
> Scorning all thought of self, from first to last,
> Among the foremost in that glorious field;
> From first to last; and ardent as thou art,
> Held on with equal step, as best became
> A lofty mind, loftiest when most assailed;
> Never, though galled by many a barbed shaft,
> By many a bitter taunt from friend and foe,
> Swerving nor shrinking."

Though the administration which he called around him was not properly a "broad-bottomed" ministry, it contained many who in former years had differed from him, but who were now united with him in principles. Lord Althorp, one of the most upright and pure-hearted of statesmen, but a man of few oratorical gifts, was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ministerial leader in the Lower House.* The amiable and accomplished, but most unfortunate, Lord Durham was Privy Seal. Lord Melbourne, Earl Grey's successor in the premiership, was Secretary of State for the Home Department. The

* For a judicious estimate of this nobleman's character, see *Edinburgh Review*, Jan., 1846.

incapable Lord Goderich was Colonial Secretary; and Lord Palmerston, next to Mr. Huskisson Mr. Canning's most distinguished supporter, had the Foreign Office. Charles Wynn, of the old Grenville party, was Secretary at War; but he resigned the office soon after the Reform Bill was brought in, because he regarded it as too sweeping in its character. Lord John Russell was Paymaster-General, while the Duke of Richmond, since that time one of his most active opponents, had the Post-Office. Mr. E. G. S. Stanley, better known as Lord Stanley, and the ablest and most skilful debater in Parliament, was Chief Secretary for Ireland. Mr. Brougham was raised to the peerage, and made Lord Chancellor. This remarkable man was certainly the most brilliant and versatile, though by no means the ablest or most consistent, politician then in public life; but even at that time so little confidence was felt in his judgment and discretion, that there was great reluctance to placing him in the position on which his heart was set. Standing, however, as he did, at the head of the Commons, in virtue of his election as one of the members for the great county of Yorkshire, and endowed with powers of invective, sarcasm, and withering denunciation, which were unequalled in either House, it would have been impossible for the ministry to carry their measures against his personal animosity, if from a friend he should become an opponent; and they were compelled to yield to his demands.

"His irresistible energy," says a moderate writer, "in exposing the last ministry, in Parliament, at public meetings, and through the press, had, combined with events, been one of the chief causes of their overthrow; and it was concluded that no other ministry could withstand his opposition. The alleged defects of his character, as regarded judgment, steadiness, or profound knowledge of his profession, were properly appreciated by every body; but the energy and capacity of his mind were traced in such a wide range of action; — he had done so much in diffusing education, encouraging science, pressing legal reform, and defending the rights and liberties of his fellow-citizens; — his name was so often seen in connection with literature, politics, forensic and Parliamentary eloquence; — he was so universally feared or admired for the withering power of his sarcasm, and the overwhelming force of his declamation; — and by all these means he had acquired so great a popularity, that no set of min-

isters, coming in on popular principles, could dispense with his aid, or encounter his hostility." *

On the very day, however, on which he assumed the robes of office, a furious assault was made on his character for honesty and consistency by Mr. Croker, in a speech which Sir James Mackintosh, in his reply, justly stigmatized as "composed of nothing but violations of the rules and orders of that House," and as being, "for the disorder and irregularity of it, unprecedented in the annals of Parliamentary offences." Mr. Macaulay likewise defended the new chancellor, and asked, with the most bitter sarcasm, whether that was "a time for a member of that House, who would sooner have burned his tongue than have made such an attack in the presence of that noble person, thus to attack him behind his back?" Mr. Macaulay was called to order for his remarks; but he immediately added, that whilst Lord Brougham "sat there, however, there were few present who would venture to make such an attack upon him. Now that he had gone from amongst them, was that the befitting time for an attack to be made upon him by those who, while he was there, dreaded the sarcastic powers of his extraordinary eloquence, and prudently shunned the encounter?" Mr. Croker was completely overwhelmed by his antagonists; and Lord Brougham came out of the ordeal but little scathed. The Grey ministry was now fully arranged, and ready for the great battle for the Reform Bill.

The honor of bringing forward this most important measure was confided to Lord John Russell, though he was not a member of the cabinet, in consideration of his long and zealous support of the cause. On the 1st of March, 1831, he introduced the bill in the House of Commons, in a very able, elaborate, and powerful speech, forcibly setting forth the defects of the existing system, and fully explaining the general outline and details of the government plan. One of his illustrations, in particular, has always seemed to us so happy, that we cannot refrain from citing it here at some length. Alluding to the obvious defects of the representative system, the noble lord said: —

"Allow me to imagine, for a moment, a stranger from some

* W. Cooke Taylor, *Life and Times of Sir Robert Peel*, II. 173, 174.

distant country, who should arrive in England to examine our institutions. All the information he had collected would have told him that this country was singular for the degree which it had attained in wealth, in science, and in civilization. He would have learned, that in no country have the arts of life been carried farther, nowhere the inventions of mechanical skill been rendered more conducive to the comfort and prosperity of mankind. He would have made himself acquainted with its fame in history, and, above all, he would have been told that the proudest boast of this celebrated country was its political freedom. If, in addition to this, he had heard that once in six years this country, so wise, so renowned, so free, chose its representatives to sit in the great council, where all the ministerial affairs were discussed and determined; he would not be a little curious to see the process by which so important and solemn an operation was effected. What, then, would be his surprise, if he were taken by his guide, whom he had asked to conduct him to one of the places of election, to a green mound [Old Sarum], and told that this green mound sent two members to Parliament, — or to be taken to a stone wall with three niches in it [Midhurst], and told that these three niches sent two members to Parliament, — or if he were shown a green park [Gatton], with many signs of flourishing vegetable life, but none of human habitation, and told that this green park sent two members to Parliament? But his surprise would increase to astonishment if he were carried into the North of England, where he would see large, flourishing towns [Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, etc.], full of trade and activity, containing vast magazines of wealth and manufactures, and were told that these places had no representatives in the assembly which was said to represent the people. Suppose him, after all, for I will not disguise any part of the case, suppose him to ask for a specimen of popular election, and to be carried for that purpose to Liverpool; his surprise would be turned into disgust at the gross venality and corruption which he would find to pervade the electors. After seeing all this, would he not wonder that a nation which had made such progress in every kind of knowledge, and which values itself for its freedom, should permit so absurd and defective a system of representation any longer to prevail?" *

The same view was presented by Mr. Macaulay, with his usual felicity, at a subsequent stage of the debate. We shall quote his exact words, that our readers may have a clear idea of the state of representation in England, when Earl Grey took office. After complimenting Lord John Russell, Mr. Macaulay went on to remark: —

* Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, II. 1063, 1064.

"If, Sir, I wished to make such a foreigner clearly understand what I consider as the great defects of our system, I would conduct him through that great city which lies to the north of Great Russell Street and Oxford Street, — a city superior in size and population to the capitals of many mighty kingdoms, and probably superior in opulence, intelligence, and general respectability, to any city in the world. I would conduct him through that interminable succession of streets and squares, all consisting of well-built and well-furnished houses. I would make him observe the brilliancy of the shops, and the crowd of well-appointed equipages. I would lead him round that magnificent circle of palaces which surrounds the Regent's Park. I would tell him, that the rental of this district was far greater than that of the whole kingdom of Scotland at the time of the Union. And then I would tell him, that this was an unrepresented district." *

But notwithstanding these defects, notwithstanding the whole body of the people clamored loudly for Reform, notwithstanding the terrible warnings which were every day coming across the Channel, and notwithstanding the subject had been agitated during many years, the Tory leaders to a man were "ready to die in the ditch of Old Sarum, where," as one of the Reform speakers wittily said, "there was nothing but a ditch to die in." They resisted the bill as a whole and in detail, with an energy worthy of a better cause; and fiercely maintained that, as England had risen to her present position under the wholesome influence of the "rotten boroughs," there could be nothing wrong in the system, and any modification of it would be an unwise and rash innovation. One of the members for Gatton even went so far as to contend "that the only truly and thoroughly independent members in that House were the representatives of the close boroughs." And because, within little more than fifty years, Lords Grenville, Brougham, and Plunkett, Sir S. Romilly, Burke, Pitt, Fox, Spencer Perceval, and Mr. Canning, with many other illustrious men, had entered Parliament by means of nomination-boroughs, it was boldly declared, as though the argument were unanswerable, that, if these boroughs were disfranchised, "all young men of talent" would henceforth and for ever be excluded from political life. Great stress was laid on this specious reasoning by the opponents of the bill; and

* Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, II. 1193, 1194.

night after night honorable members came down to the House, with lachrymose countenances and long lists of great men who had sat for rotten boroughs, to plead against Reform, in order that a few youthful scions of noble houses, fresh from the banks of the Cam and the Isis, might style themselves members of Parliament while travelling on the Continent. The best reply to this ridiculous argument which we remember to have seen is in Mr. Macaulay's first speech, and is in a happy vein of most exquisite sarcasm. He said:—

"My honorable friend [Sir Robert H. Inglis, member for the University of Oxford], and almost all the gentlemen who have taken the same side with him in this debate, have dwelt much on the utility of close and rotten boroughs. It is by means of such boroughs, they tell us, that the ablest men have been introduced into Parliament. It is true, that many distinguished persons have represented places of this description. But, Sir, we must judge of a form of government by its general tendency, not by happy accidents. Despotism has its happy accidents. Yet we are not disposed to abolish all constitutional checks, to place an absolute master over us, and to take our chance whether he may be a Caligula or a Marcus Aurelius. In whatever way the House of Commons may be chosen, some able men will be chosen in that way who would not be chosen in any other way. If there were a law that the hundred tallest men in England should be members in Parliament, there would probably be some able men among them, who would come into Parliament in virtue of this law. If the hundred persons whose names stand first in the alphabetical list of the Court Guide were made members of Parliament, there would probably be able men among them. We read in ancient history, that a very able king was elected by the neighing of his horse. But we shall scarcely, I think, adopt this mode of election. In one of the most celebrated republics of antiquity, Athens, the senators and magistrates were chosen by lot; and sometimes the lot fell fortunately. Once, for example, Socrates was in office. A cruel and unjust measure was brought forward. Socrates resisted it at the hazard of his own life. There is no event in Grecian history more interesting than that memorable resistance. Yet who would have offices assigned by lot, because the accident of the lot may have given to a great and good man a power which he would probably never have attained in any other way? We must judge, as I said, by the general tendency of a system. No person can doubt that a House of Commons chosen fairly by the middle classes will contain many very able men. I do not say, that precisely the same able men

who would find their way into the present House of Commons will find their way into the reformed House; — but that is not the question. No particular man is necessary to the state. We may depend on it, that, if we provide the country with free institutions, those institutions will provide it with great men." *

Sir James Mackintosh, too, when the second Reform Bill was under discussion, addressed himself to this pet argument of the Anti-Reformers.

"Might not the same dazzling commonplaces," he asked, "have been opposed to the abolition of the court of the Star Chamber? 'What,' it might have been said, 'will you, in your frantic rage of innovation, demolish the tribunal in which Sir Thomas More, the best of men, and Lord Bacon, the greatest of philosophers, presided, — where Sir Edward Coke, the oracle of law, — where Burleigh and Walsingham, the most revered of English statesmen, sat as judges, — which Bacon, enlightened by philosophy, called the peculiar glory of our legislation, as being "a court of criminal equity"? Will you, in your paroxysms of audacious frenzy, abolish this Prætorian tribunal, — this sole instrument for bridling popular incendiaries?'" †

It was by arguments as futile as these that the opponents of the bill protracted the debate over seven nights, — a length of time unprecedented in Parliamentary history; but at every point they were met and refuted by the Reformers. And when, with one desperate effort, the Tories evoked from past history the names of the mighty dead who had opposed Parliamentary Reform, Mr. Shiel, in a passage of overpowering eloquence, cited in answer the more splendid list of those who, having fought the good fight, had gone down to the grave the advocates of the popular cause. It is long since we have read his speech, but the memory of it still thrills in our veins as we recall to mind the eventful days of this memorable period. But, in spite of this stout opposition, the House did not divide on the first reading. The Tories had reserved themselves for a future occasion. On the second reading the battle was fiercely renewed; and now began to be seen the difficulties against which Earl Grey had to contend in carrying on the government with a Parliament chosen under the Duke of Wellington. The sec-

* Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, II. 1200, 1201.
† Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, IV. 686.

ond reading was carried by a majority of only one in a House of more than six hundred, — a greater number than had ever before been known to divide on any question. But still ministers nobly persevered. They went on with the bill until the 19th of April, when they were left in a minority upon a motion made by General Gascoyne, that the number of members from England and Wales ought not to be reduced. The motion was artfully designed to work on the "No Popery" feelings of the country squires; and though ministers warned the House that the passage of the motion would be equivalent to a rejection of the bill, the bait took. The motion prevailed by a majority of eight. Ministers hesitated. Again they were defeated. On the 21st, the House refused to take up the Supplies; and an adjournment was carried against Lord Althorp.

Only one of two courses now remained for ministers. They must either resign, or take the sense of the country. They wisely and patriotically chose the latter. The next day the king went down to the House of Lords in person, and prorogued Parliament, with a view to an immediate dissolution. That day will long live in history; and certainly at no other time does William the Fourth stand so nobly before us, free alike from the influence of his wife, his sisters, and the children of Mrs. Jordan. For many long years, neither House had been the scene of such disgraceful acts as marked their sessions on that April afternoon. The conduct of the Commons would have disgraced a debating society in Texas. But the Commons demeaned themselves like gentlemen when compared with their Lordships. We have rarely read of more riotous proceedings in any legislative body in a civilized land, than were witnessed in the Upper House. Hansard gives it up in despair. "It is impossible," he says, "to describe the confusion, the noise, and impetuosity that prevailed from one end of the House to the other. The peeresses present seemed alarmed. Some of the peers were, as it appeared in the confusion, almost scuffling, and as if shaking their hands at each other in anger." Having given this remarkable display of good breeding, the noble lords listened with what grace they could to the king's speech, whilst the Commons rushed in "tumultuously" from their own House of disorder and misrule.

In the elections, ministers carried every thing before them; and we cannot now remember any other ministry which ever had so strong a majority as they could count upon when Parliament met in the following June. After a debate, which lasted three nights, the new Reform Bill passed to a second reading, by a majority of one hundred and thirty-six votes, on the 6th of July. Nevertheless, so unyielding was the resistance of the Tories, that, though the House went into committee on the 12th, it was not until the 21st of September that the bill finally passed, by a majority of one hundred and nine. On the next day, it was carried up to the Lords, by Lord Althorp, followed by a large number of the Commons. And now all over the country was heard the question, "What will the Lords do?" All eyes were fastened on their proceedings; and very audible were the warnings which reached their ears. Something of the feeling which animated all classes may be gathered from Mr. Macaulay's memorable speech in the House of Commons, upon the third reading, on the 20th of September. So great was the sensation created by his remarks, that we shall quote from his speech at considerable length. After alluding to the arguments of the opponents of the bill, he observed:—

"This, I say, is the advice bestowed on the Lords by those who call themselves the friends of aristocracy. That advice, so pernicious, will not be followed, I am well assured; yet I cannot but listen to it with uneasiness. I cannot but wonder that it should proceed from the lips of men who are constantly lecturing us on the duty of consulting history and experience. Have they ever heard what effects counsels like their own, when too faithfully followed, have produced? Have they ever visited that neighbouring country, which still presents to the eye, even of a passing stranger, the signs of a great dissolution and renovation of society? Have they ever walked by those stately mansions, now sinking into decay, and portioned out into lodging-rooms, which line the silent streets of the Faubourg St. Germain? Have they ever seen the ruins of those castles, whose terraces and gardens overhang the Loire? Have they ever heard, that from those magnificent hotels, from those ancient castles, an aristocracy, as splendid, as brave, as proud, as accomplished, as ever Europe saw, was driven forth to exile and beggary,—to implore the charity of hostile governments and hostile creeds,—to cut wood in the back settlements of America,—or to teach French in the school-rooms of London? And why were those haughty nobles

destroyed with that utter destruction? Why were they scattered over the face of the earth, their titles abolished, their escutcheons defaced, their parks wasted, their palaces dismantled, their heritage given to strangers? Because they had no sympathy with the people, — no discernment of the signs of their time, — because, in the pride and narrowness of their hearts, they called those whose warnings might have saved them theorists and speculators, — because they refused all concession till the time had arrived when no concession would avail. I have no apprehension that such a fate awaits the nobles of England. I draw no parallel between our aristocracy and that of France. Those who represent the Lords as a class whose power is incompatible with the just influence of the middle orders in the state, draw the parallel, and not I. They do all in their power to place the Lords and Commons of England in that position with respect to each other in which the French gentry stood with respect to the *Tiers Etat*. But I am convinced that these advisers will not succeed. We see, with pride and delight, among the friends of the people, the Talbots, the Cavendishes, the princely house of Howard. Foremost among those who have entitled themselves, by their exertions in this House, to the lasting gratitude of their countrymen, we see the descendants of Marlborough, of Russell, and of Derby. I hope, and firmly believe, that the Lords will see what their interest and their honor require. I hope, and firmly believe, that they will act in such a manner as to entitle themselves to the esteem and affection of the people. But if not, let not the enemies of Reform imagine that their reign is straightway to recommence, or that they have obtained any thing more than a short and weary respite. We are bound to respect the constitutional rights of the Peers; but we are bound also not to forget our own. We, too, have our privileges, — we, too, are an estate of the realm. A House of Commons strong in the love and confidence of the people, — a House of Commons which has nothing to fear from a dissolution, — is something in the government. Some persons, I well know, indulge a hope that the rejection of the bill will at once restore the domination of that party which fled from power last November, leaving every thing abroad and every thing at home in confusion, — leaving the European system, which it had built up at a vast cost of blood and treasure, falling to pieces in every direction, — leaving the dynasties which it had restored hastening into exile, — leaving the nations which it had joined together breaking away from each other, — leaving the fundholders in dismay, — leaving the peasantry in insurrection, — leaving the most fertile counties lighted up with the fires of incendiaries, — leaving the capital in such a state, that a royal procession could not safely pass through it.

Dark and terrible, beyond any season within my remembrance of political affairs, was the day of their flight. Far darker and far more terrible will be the day of their return; they will return in opposition to the whole British nation, united as it was never before united on any internal question, — united as firmly as when the Armada was sailing up the Channel, — united as when Bonaparte pitched his camp on the cliffs of Boulogne. They will return pledged to defend evils which the people are resolved to destroy; they will return to a situation in which they can stand only by crushing and trampling down public opinion, and from which, if they fall, they may, in their fall, drag down with them the whole frame of society. Against such evils, should such evils appear to threaten the country, it will be our privilege and our duty to warn our gracious and beloved sovereign. It will be our privilege and our duty to convey the wishes of a loyal people to the throne of a patriot king. At such a crisis the proper place for the House of Commons is in the front of the nation; and in that place this House will assuredly be found. Whatever prejudice or weakness may do elsewhere to ruin the empire, here, I trust, will not be wanting the wisdom, the virtue, and the energy that may save it." *

The debate in the House of Lords took place on the second reading; and was opened, on the 3d of October, by Earl Grey, in a speech fully displaying those consummate powers as an orator which he possessed in larger measure than any other man then in Parliament, or who had been in Parliament since the days of Pitt and Fox. After alluding in fitting terms to the importance of the occasion, and looking back to a period anterior to the first French Revolution, he could point to his support of the cause of Parliamentary Reform during nearly half a century, and proudly declare that he appeared before them as the advocate of principles from which he had never swerved. He then proceeded to answer, one after another, the various objections urged against the bill, and to press home upon their Lordships the justice, propriety, and necessity of adopting a large and generous plan, — no bit-by-bit Reform, but a measure which should be final, and satisfy the just demands of the people. His appeal to the bishops to give their support to the bill was, in particular, admirably conceived and powerfully expressed, but it fell on deaf ears and insensible hearts. The de-

* Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, VII. 308–311.

bate lasted until the 7th, when the House divided, and the bill was thrown out by a majority of forty-one. Twenty-one bishops voted against it. Only one, Henry Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich, voted for it. The bishops had turned the scales, and defeated the bill. Nor need we be surprised at this result. With a few honorable exceptions, the bishops of the Anglican Church have almost invariably been found ranged on the side of prescriptive tyranny, and zealously opposing all needful reforms. Immediately after the defeat of the bill, the House of Commons passed a vote of confidence in ministers, by a large majority. It had the desired effect. Ministers did not resign; and on the 20th, the king went down to the Lords, and with a firm and resolute tone prorogued Parliament, that the battle might again be renewed, at an early day.

Parliament met again early in December; and on the 12th, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in the third Reform Bill. The second reading was carried by a majority of a hundred and sixty-two votes, — the largest majority which had yet been obtained. And now every effort was made to cause delay by the Tories, under the leadership of Mr. John Wilson Croker, — a man in every respect peculiarly fitted to undertake a work which Sir Robert Peel and other prominent men of his party scorned to touch; but all to no purpose. The bill finally passed the House, on the 23d of March, 1832. The Lords had again to assume the responsibility. The bill had its first reading at once; and on the 9th of April, the debate commenced on the second reading, which, after an animated discussion, was carried by a majority of nine. On the 7th of May, the House went into committee; and on the first division, ministers were left in a minority of thirty-five. Earl Grey must either obtain authority to create an unlimited number of new peers, in order to carry the bill, or resign. There was no other alternative; and the king was made to understand it. But he was afraid to grant the necessary power, and yielded to the improper influence of those who were not his constitutional advisers. Ministers determined to make a clean job of it. They one and all resigned. The Duke of Wellington was then invited to form an administration; but, after going from house to house with Lord Lyndhurst, he

found it a task much beyond his abilities, and wisely gave up the attempt. As a matter of necessity, Earl Grey and his colleagues were recalled, with that power which they deemed necessary to the passage of the bill. It was not, however, exerted. The king had hit upon a notable scheme to avoid Scylla and Charybdis. By his personal solicitation he induced the Duke of Wellington and about a hundred other peers to absent themselves during the further discussion of the measure. There was no longer any difficulty about obtaining a majority in its favor; and on the final vote ministers had a majority of eighty-four. On the 7th of June, the royal assent was given to the bill, and it became law.

Thus was accomplished one of the greatest and most beneficial reforms ever effected in the history of any age or nation. The names of those noble men who conducted it to a successful issue will always be dear to the lovers of freedom throughout the world. Chief among them were Charles, Earl Grey, and Lord John Russell. To them, more than to any one else, must the honor and glory of this victory belong. But neither will those who stood by them through good report and through ill report ever be forgotten. All will be held in lasting and honorable remembrance. It is difficult, however, for one not well conversant with the history of this period to understand the extreme difficulties in which Earl Grey was placed, or to estimate the popular excitement throughout the country.

"Those were proud and happy days," said Mr. Macaulay, from his place in Parliament, during the exciting debates of 1840, "when, amidst the praises and blessings of millions, my noble friend [Lord John Russell] led us on in the great struggle for the Reform Bill, — when hundreds waited around our doors till sunrise to hear the tidings of our success, — and when the great cities of the empire poured forth their population on the highways, to meet the mails that were bringing from the capital the tidings whether the battle of the people was lost or won. Those days were such days as my noble friend cannot hope to see again. Two such triumphs would be too much for one life." *

The war-cry to which the people rallied was, "The bill! the whole bill! and nothing but the bill!" That

* Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, LI. 834.

was their object; and no feeble or inefficient measure, no bit-by-bit reform, would have satisfied them. This Earl Grey saw and knew. He accordingly prepared his bill to suit that demand; and he acted the part of a great, and wise, and patriotic statesman, despising all shams and half-measures. But by so doing he added to those who were opposed to all reform, — to those who believed in the absolute and essential perfection of the British constitution, — a large body, who thought his measure too broad and sweeping. Accordingly, we find it opposed upon almost innumerable grounds. Sir Charles Wetherell quoted the classics to prove that it gave too much. Henry Hunt, while he supported it, was quite as certain that it did not give enough. But in the ranks of its opponents were arrayed all classes, from borough-mongers up to the representatives of the two great universities, and the heads of the Church, each fiercely denouncing the bill and its authors. Earl Grey had to restrain his followers, to conquer his enemies, and to sustain the king in his true position, while he contended against court intrigues and bed-chamber influence. Perhaps no other man could have done the work which he did, and did so well.

Out of Parliament, the most extravagant expectations were entertained of the results which would flow from the passage of the bill. The greatest wit of modern times has well hit them off, in one of his speeches at a Reform meeting. "There will be mistakes at first," said he, "as there are in all changes. All young ladies will imagine (as soon as this bill is carried) that they will be instantly married. Schoolboys believe that gerunds and supines will be abolished, and that currant tarts must ultimately come down in price; the corporal and sergeant are sure of double pay; bad poets will expect a demand for their epics; fools will be disappointed, as they always are; reasonable men, who know what to expect, will find that a very serious good has been obtained." * Ministers were taunted in Parliament with the foolish and unreasonable hopes of some of their followers; and the fact, strange as it might seem to one unacquainted with the means by which party warfare is carried on, was ac-

* Sydney Smith, *Miscellaneous Works.*

tually used as an argument against the bill. But they were undismayed by the follies of their own adherents, and the gloomy forebodings of their antagonists. They saw with a clear eye what were the defects to be remedied, and what the reforms to be effected; and with an equally clear eye they saw what were the remedies, and how they were to proceed in their reforms. They did not hesitate, therefore, to disfranchise a long list of rotten boroughs, and distribute their members among the large counties and great manufacturing and commercial towns. "The intention of these arrangements," said Earl Grey, on moving the second reading in the Lords, "is, to infuse new health and vigor into the Constitution, to lop off decayed branches, and to ingraft on the parent stock new and healthful shoots, which shall bring forth good fruit; thus acting upon the principle of the husbandman, —

> 'Inutilesque falce ramos amputans,
> Feliciores inserit.'

Such is the object which my colleagues and myself have in view; and this is the plan which I hope to show to your Lordships is not only unattended with dangers, but is calculated to give new securities and additional strength to our institutions." The result proved the wisdom and foresight of the administration. While the rest of Europe has been distracted and torn by civil conflicts, England, in virtue of the Reform Bill, has enjoyed a degree of peace and tranquillity far greater than she had before known.

The Reform Bill was the crowning glory of Earl Grey's ministry. Other important measures of retrenchment and reform, however, were carried in the two years during which it remained in power after the passage of that beneficent act. The most important of these were the new Poor Law, the renewal and modification of the Bank Charter, the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, with an omission of the clauses allowing it to act in a trading capacity, the abolition of slavery in the Colonies, and an attempt to tranquillize Ireland, which, without effecting the desired object, led to the resignation of Mr. Stanley and Sir James Graham, and their secession from the Whig party. At length, an indiscreet and unstatesmanlike admission of the new Irish Secretary in the House of Commons in regard to the Coercion

Bill having led to Lord Althorp's resignation, Earl Grey, who was now in his seventy-first year, determined to resign and withdraw from the scenes which he had so much adorned. His resignation of course rendered a reconstruction of the ministry necessary. His speech on this occasion contained a masterly vindication of the course which he had pursued while at the head of the government; and at the risk of extending this article beyond its proper limits, we shall quote a portion of his remarks.

"On the first night I appeared here as a minister, I stated the principles on which my government should be conducted. I declared, that the three great and leading objects of my administration should be a Reform of Parliament, peace, and economical reform. I appeal with confidence to the House and the people to say, whether these principles have not been faithfully maintained. I know that we have been frequently told that we do nothing, — that the present session has almost passed without any thing being accomplished. But if your Lordships attend to the quarter whence these complaints arise, you will see that those who make them most loudly are in a considerable degree the cause of them, by occupying the House of Commons, night after night, by motions which I will not designate otherwise than as motions by which the public business is obstructed. No one in this House, or elsewhere, will say that Reform in Parliament is a pledge which I have not fully redeemed. Peace was the next principle of my government; — how has it been maintained? When we came into office, we found the country in a most difficult position as to foreign policy; — many of those difficulties have been removed. The noble marquess opposite (the Marquess of Londonderry) shakes his head, and appears to dissent from this proposition. I shall be ready to enter fully into the question with the noble marquess at any time when it shall be brought forward, and I will undertake to show, that we have not only maintained tranquillity, but that we now leave the government, having secured a greater probability of the peace of Europe being continued than when we took office. With respect to economical reform, the reproach on that head will hardly be that we have done too little. We have reduced the expenses of all the establishments in the country; we have taken off £4,500,000 of taxation, for which we are entitled to the greater praise, as having immediately succeeded the great and meritorious reductions made by the noble duke opposite [the Duke of Wellington], and by previous administrations, for which I am ready to give our predecessors full credit. Places have been

abolished, and the patronage of the crown has been diminished, to a degree which your Lordships may, perhaps, consider inexpedient; and with regard to which, being now divested of any further interest in the question as a minister of the crown, I feel bound in justice to admit, that my only doubt is, whether we have not done rather too much. With respect to the internal state of the country, let your Lordships recollect what it was when we took office, and let it be borne in mind that we now leave it in improved circumstances, — trade in a sound and healthy state, the manufacturers generally employed, public credit improved, the revenue greatly increasing, and all interests in a better condition, with one single exception, — agriculture; and even the depression of that interest rather affects the landlord, who will be called on for a reduction of rents, to which he must submit, than the tenant, who chiefly suffers from the bad administration of the Poor Laws, and who will be relieved by the improvement of them. Political and trades' unions, my Lords, have disappeared, and without the application for any extraordinary power on the part of the government. It must be in your Lordships' recollection, how we have been pressed on this subject, how we have been reproved for supineness and want of energy, for not asking for new laws and new enactments. We have resisted these applications, — we have exerted the ordinary powers of the law with a firm hand, and the result has been successful; and in this instance at least I may appeal to your Lordships and the country, that the administration has not shown (except in the single case of the bill which is now before your Lordships, and which the most absolute necessity demanded) any disposition to call for new and extraordinary powers inconsistent with the genius of the Constitution. This, then, is the statement which I have to offer to your Lordships. I have stated the reasons for my resignation, and I look with satisfaction upon the state in which I now leave the affairs of the country. It has been frequently, indeed, said, that we have done nothing. Was Reform of Parliament nothing? Was the passing of that delicate and difficult measure, the abolition of Colonial slavery, nothing? Was the settlement of the East India Charter, and the opening of the trade of our extensive dominions in India, nothing? Was the arrangement of the question as to the Bank Charter nothing? Are the various improvements in the law, of which the whole credit is due to my noble and learned friend on the Woolsack [Lord Brougham], nothing? Were those reforms in the Irish Church, on account of which we have been reproved on one side that we have done too much, — were they, and can they with truth be said to be, nothing?" *

* Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, XXIV. 1313-1315.

In our former article we had occasion to notice the gross injustice done to the memory of Earl Grey by Miss Martineau; and in the present volume we have even stronger ground of complaint. She tells us that "the close of his term of power was mortifying, if not ignoble, in its character"; that his faults were those of "incapacity"; that "he knew no more of the British people than he did of the Spaniards or the Germans"; that "he did not see the scope of his own Reform Bill, and could not bear the consequences of his own greatest act, — the fruition of the aim of his whole life"; that "he governed with a feeble and uncertain hand"; and she further intimates a doubt "whether his conscience was illumined by the best lights of intelligence." Then, after declaring that the Duke of Wellington's reply to Earl Grey "was nothing short of malignant," she exults over it for "its perfect likeness, in conception and spirit, to Lord Grey's speech against Canning." This violent and abusive tirade is utterly unworthy of a serious refutation; and no one who looks at the life and character of Earl Grey, not blinded by bitter partisan prejudice, would thus paint the fit companion and chosen friend of the greatest statesman of modern times, — the man, too, who did what even Fox himself could not do. Miss Martineau's picture has hardly a single point of resemblance to the great man on whom she pours the vials of her indignation. The simple fact is, that Mr. Canning and Sir Robert Peel are the gods of her idolatry, and in her unbounded admiration of them she can perceive few excellences either in Earl Grey or in Viscount Melbourne. Both fall under the ban of her severe condemnation. Lord Brougham much more truly described Earl Grey when he declared, that "in every quality of head and heart he excels every statesman of the age."

The cabinet was reconstructed without delay, and with but few modifications. Lord Melbourne became premier. Lord Althorp was persuaded to return to office; and most of the other ministers retained their old places. But they were destined to enjoy power for only a very brief time. Earl Spencer's death called Lord Althorp to the Upper House, and furnished the king an opportunity to dismiss his advisers, and bring in the Tories. A considerable length of time, however, elapsed before the

new ministry was arranged, as it was well understood that little reliance could be put on the support of Parliament, even in the event of a general election. Nor did it possess within itself the elements of great strength. The Duke of Wellington, having commenced by filling no less than five principal offices and three subordinate stations, finally satisfied himself with the Foreign Secretaryship. Sir Robert Peel, the most vacillating politician of modern times, was First Lord of the Treasury.* Lord Lyndhurst, the most persevering and indefatigable of intriguers, of course returned to the Wool-sack. Lord Aberdeen, undoubtedly an able and efficient statesman, was Colonial Secretary. Lord Wharncliffe was Privy Seal. Lord Ellenborough appears to have possessed few qualifications for the office of President of the Board of Control, to which he was appointed; and Sir Henry Hardinge was equally out of place as Irish Secretary. Such was the disposition of the principal offices; and it was easy to see that the love of place would be the chief means by which the ministry would hold out against the Opposition. The elections resulted in their complete discomfiture; and they were beaten in division after division in the House of Commons. But still they clung to office. At length they were so signally routed in a debate on the Irish question, that they were forced to relinquish their grasp of place and patronage, having held office only about four months.

Upon the resignation of the Peel and Wellington ministry, the king sent for Earl Grey; but that veteran statesman declined office, and on his recommendation Lord Melbourne was empowered to form an administration. The personal and political character of this nobleman are pursued with the utmost virulence by Miss Martineau, and the acts of his administration are described with unwarranted harshness.† Yet he was a statesman of singular coolness and steadiness of mind, of enlarged

* When old friends quarrel, some truth is likely to be elicited between them. The Quarterly Review for June, 1847, contains a striking character of Sir Robert Peel, though it is disfigured by excessive bitterness.

† A still fiercer and more vindictive attack, from an entirely opposite quarter, appeared in the Quarterly Review for January, 1850; but it is written in so virulent a tone that it can have but little effect in injuring Lord Melbourne's character. A well-deserved eulogy upon him is contained in the Edinburgh Review for January, 1849.

views, and of unimpeachable integrity; and called to his support able and upright men. His fault, in Miss Martineau's eyes, is, ostensibly, that he affected a laziness and indifference of manner, when he was in truth a man of unwearied energy and activity. It must be obvious to those who are acquainted with her political prejudices and predilections, that the real ground of offence is to be sought elsewhere. The simple truth is, that his course was too moderate to suit her radical notions. Hence her account of his administration has all the characteristics of a partisan narrative, and is incorrect, distorted, and unfair. In consequence of the ill-repute into which Lord Brougham had fallen with the royal family, the Chancellorship was put into commission, and the next year was given to Lord Cottenham, its present holder. Lord John Russell was Secretary for the Home Department, and leader in the House of Commons. Charles Grant (lately become Lord Glenelg) was Colonial Secretary. Lord Palmerston was once more in his old place at the Foreign Office. Lord Howick, the present Earl Grey, was Secretary at War. Mr. Spring Rice was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The other offices were in the main well filled; and the ministry appeared likely to effect many needed reforms, without falling into the idle theories of speculative politicians.

They accomplished much; but would unquestionably have accomplished more, if they had been properly supported in Parliament. One of their most important acts was the passage of the Municipal Reform Bill, by which the old and corrupt municipalities were thoroughly cleansed from the abuses that had crept in, in the course of centuries, and a new and better system for town government was instituted. They passed the Dissenters' Marriage Bill, and carried a scheme for the registration of births, marriages, and deaths. They did much to elevate the cause of education, by granting privileges to the University of London, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the High Church party, and by liberal grants of money to societies for the support of elementary schools. In 1835, the first grant — £10,000 — was made for the establishment of a normal school, at which persons might be fitted to become teachers, and thus enter upon their important but most vexatious labors with

at least some previous discipline. They carried on the reform of the law, and cleared away some of its anomalies and barbarities. They introduced some reforms into the Established Church, where even the slightest reform is attended with more than ordinary difficulty. They tried to elevate the religious condition of Scotland, and accomplished something in that respect. They governed Ireland ably and judiciously, notwithstanding the difficulties which thickly beset the path of government in that unhappy country. They broke up the Orange Associations. They carried the nation safely through a period of great financial embarrassment and alarm. Miss Martineau says little about this; but a late writer, who has made the subject his particular study, tells us what was the state of things in the Stock Exchange at one time during this period. "Consternation," says he, "reigned paramount; and almost every third man was a defaulter. All foreign securities were without a price; the bankers refused to advance money; the brokers' checks were first doubted, and then rejected; nothing but bank-notes would be taken; and, with a desperation which will never be forgotten, the jobbers closed their books, refused to transact any business, and waited the result in almost abject despair."* It was through difficulties and dangers which would have disheartened most men, that Lord Melbourne had to carry on the government; and in spite of them all, he faithfully performed the work which had fallen upon him to do.

The death of William the Fourth found the Whig ministers still engaged in their duties, regardless of a strong Tory and Radical Opposition. This event took place on the 20th of June, 1837, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. He had undoubtedly lost a considerable part of the popularity which greeted him upon his accession; but he was followed to the tomb by the respect and gratitude of a large proportion of his subjects. If he had possessed talents of a higher order and more steady and fixed political principles, if his morals had been spotless, and his temper less yielding to the seductive influences of his own family, if he had stood by his ministers with a

* John Francis, *Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange.*

firmer courage, and been less hasty in his expressions and his acts, he would have been entitled to a much higher name in history than can now be assigned him. Yet he must always hold a prominent rank among the sovereigns of England. Indeed, we cannot perceive that his reputation is likely to be diminished by the just estimate of his character which will be formed when the passions that burned so fiercely in his own days shall have passed away. After a careful survey of his life, it is our deliberate judgment that he was not merely the best prince of his family who has sat on the throne, but that few British kings have more sedulously sought the good of their subjects. He was succeeded by his niece, the Princess Victoria, daughter of the late Duke of Kent, who, immediately after she was proclaimed, reappointed the Melbourne ministry.

And here we must conclude our hasty survey of the period over which Miss Martineau's work extends. The era which opened with the accession of Queen Victoria has been marked by many events of the utmost importance; but we could hardly discuss them without bringing ourselves into collision with Miss Martineau on some question of political economy, at almost every step. Moreover, we should be forced to introduce subjects which are very properly excluded from this journal, and in their discussion we should only provoke angry controversy; for many of the questions which would arise during an examination of this part of English history have almost, if not quite, as intimate a connection with American, as they have with English, politics. We have a vital interest in preventing unsound theories from being adopted here; and in reviewing this part of English history, questions of political economy are the questions which most arrest our attention. For these reasons we shall not enter upon the reign of Queen Victoria. It was our intention at the close of this article to present a detailed picture of the present condition of England, in contrast with its condition when peace was declared; but we have already occupied so much space, that we can only briefly mention some of the most marked points.

That many and great improvements in the political system of the country have characterized the period

which has elapsed since the Peace of Paris must be evident to every one. And while it is very questionable whether all the changes have been wise and politic, it must be equally apparent that most of them have been beneficial, and will be even more beneficial in the coming time. The most important of these changes, as we believe, was the Reform Bill. It not only extended the liberties of the people, destroyed old abuses, and preserved the peace, prosperity, and power of the nation, but it prepared the way for every good measure which has been carried in England since its passage, and gave strength and perpetuity to the Constitution. While France and nearly all the rest of Europe have been vainly seeking after peace and freedom, England has enjoyed both, through the beneficent action of the Reform Bill. It was the central fact to which all the political changes which preceded it pointed, and from which all that have followed have been colored.

The period of the peace has been marked by moral and social improvements, as well as by political progress. The criminal law has been shorn of many of its harshest and most cruel features, through the fearless labors of Sir S. Romilly and his coadjutors. The civil law has been reformed; and the almost endless delays which disgraced the Court of Chancery under Lord Eldon, disappeared as soon as Lord Brougham took office. Slavery in the Colonies has been abolished, through the exertions of Wilberforce and Buxton. Prison discipline has taken deep hold of the popular mind since Mrs. Fry began her difficult task. Science has advanced, and has devoted much of its attention to the improvement of agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts. Commerce took a new start when the East India Company lost its exclusive privileges. The financial system was greatly amended by the renewal of the Bank Charter, with its fortunate alterations. Education has risen to a place in the public regard, in some degree commensurate with its importance. Railroads and canals owe their great extension to this period; and have widely diffused the comforts of life, while they have directly tended to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of the lower classes.

The rights of conscience are more respected now than they were at the commencement of the period. The

Roman Catholics and the Dissenters have been gradually and constantly approaching the full enjoyment of their just political rights. But the time is yet far distant, we fear, when they will be placed on an equality with the Established Church, and the foul tyranny of ecclesiastical exactions be abolished. In looking at the religious history of the period, our chief ground of regret is in the rise and spread of Tractarianism; and on that movement we can look only with extreme distrust. We cannot regard it otherwise than as most absurd in its practices, unsound in its doctrines, and dangerous in its tendencies. But, like every other vagary of the human intellect, it will have its day, and then be numbered with the forgotten things of earth. In our own country it may serve to counteract the opposite, but equally dangerous, errors of Transcendentalism, and thus be productive of some good, by showing men the absurdity of extreme opinions. Yet it can only be regarded as a dark spot on the history of our times, that men should turn back to the Middle Ages, and prefer darkness rather than light.

If in this general progress Ireland has had but a very small share, it is because no man has yet been able to discover any adequate remedy for the terrible evils under which she groans. Nor are the evils themselves understood. Ireland still remains the almost hopeless problem which every minister must try to solve. Scotland, on the other hand, has shared the same prosperity which England has enjoyed. This prosperity, however, we believe, has been greatly checked and impeded by the adoption of an unwise and ruinous system of free trade. The financial difficulties of 1846 and 1847 were as much owing to the abolition of the Corn Laws as they were to the potato-rot or the railroad mania; and it is within our knowledge, that the British manufacturers cannot compete with the Belgians and Prussians under such a system. Yet in every respect, political, social, moral, and religious, England has made a wonderful progress during the peace. May that progress be preserved, and her course still be onward, in spite of all opposing influences. C. C. S.

Art. VI.—ERASMUS.*

The pilgrim-scholar, who chances to enter on the Continent by the way of Holland, must be very much wanting in scholarly enthusiasm, if he does not linger a few hours about the quaint old town of Rotterdam, were it only for the sake of breathing the native air of one who, for half a century, was universally acknowledged king in the realm of letters, and of seeing an object which, more vividly than any thing else, places the man himself before the mind's eye. Crowning the centre of the bridge that arches over one of those canals which serve for streets in many of the towns of the Low Countries, and in the great market-square of the place, stands the brazen statue of a man of somewhat short and stooping stature, attired in a study-gown, trimmed with fur, having on his head the academic cap or turban of Sir Thomas More's day, and clasping with his slender fingers a folio volume, over the open pages of which his apprehensive eyes and delicate cheeks seem to hang intently. It is the celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam.

The huge volume of Erasmus's correspondence, which we have had the pleasure and perplexity of exploring, for the purpose of finding out, if possible, what the man was, contains, as its frontispiece, a bust-engraving of him, under which some ingenious editor† has placed an epigram, that, translated quite literally from the Latin, would run somewhat as follows:—

> "Of that great man, whose fame the wide world sounds
> Thou seest but half within this picture's bounds.
> '*Why not the whole?*' Good reader, cease to admire;
> Not earth itself could hold the man entire!"

Any one who should see the enormous volume from which this was taken might, indeed, be tempted to query

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* 1. *Epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami Libri* XXXI. *et P. Melanchthonis Libri* IV. *Quibus adjiciuntur Th. Mori et Lud. Vivis Epistolæ, una cum indicibus locupletissimis.* Londini. Excudebant M. Flesher et R. Young. Folio. pp. 3220. Edition of 1642.

2. *Pilgrimages to Saint Mary of Walsingham and Saint Thomas of Canterbury.* By Desiderius Erasmus. *Newly translated, with the Colloquy on Rash Vows, by the same Author, and his Characters of Archbishop Warham and Dean Colet, and illustrated with Notes.* By John Gough Nichols, F. S. A. Westminster: John Bowyer Nichols & Son. 1849. 12mo. pp. 248.

† Beza?

whether the panegyrist meant to say that the world could not contain the soul of Erasmus, or all that he had written. One thing he would be pretty certain to suspect, that the author of that volume must have been a man of some weight in his generation. "The star of Germany," — "the sun of literature," — "the prince of letters," — "the high-priest of polite learning," — "the vindicator of theology," — such were among the familiar titles of Erasmus in the mouths of his contemporaries; and it is said that letters were addressed to him with one or another of these superscriptions as their only direction, without the least fear of their miscarrying, because there was but one person in all the world to whom such titles could apply; — wherein his correspondents were more safe than the modern Greek boy, who, having been sent to this country for his education, and desiring, on an early visit to his home, to communicate with his teacher, but forgetting his name and address, directed his letter to *the American, wherever he might be.** A letter to Voltaire as *the Frenchman, wherever he might be,* would once have been likelier than this boy's to reach its destination. Kings and emperors, cities and universities, popes and philosophers, vied with each other in their devotion to Prince Erasmus; and during nearly the first quarter of the sixteenth century, at least till the outbreak of the Lutheran revolution, his life (says a writer, † whom one might suspect to be a Frenchman, if not informed of the fact) was "a continued series of triumphs .....; an intellectual beatification, made up of feasts and concerts, at which were sung hymns composed in all the dialects of Europe." "King of the literary realm" we called Erasmus; but when we trace the analogy between his fate and that of a certain modern monarch, we are tempted now to describe him as *citizen-king of the republican realm of letters.*

Erasmus of Rotterdam, "that eternal miracle of nature," (as one of the old editors makes Erasmus's own autobiography commence by calling him,) was born in that town, in the year (according to the inscription on his monument) 1467, though almost as many years contend for the honor of his birth, as there were cities that

* "Πρὸς τὸν Ἀμερικανον, ποῦ ἂν εἴη." † Audin.

claimed to be the birthplace of Homer. He was the natural son of a citizen of that place, named Gerard. Just before the child's birth, his father, in consequence of the opposition made to his marrying by his parents and numerous brothers, — (the former for the sake of their pride, and the latter for the sake of the property, insisting upon his entering the Church,) — had fled to Rome, where he maintained himself for a time as a copyist, the art of printing not having reached there, and afterward gave himself to the higher studies. Hearing, shortly, from home that the object of his attachment was dead, for grief he took priestly orders. On returning home, however, he discovered that he had been imposed upon. He found her still living, a mother, and devoted to her child. This child was named Gerard, after his father; but when he grew up, he translated the Dutch name, which means "amiable," into equivalent words, both Greek and Latin, and styled himself *Desiderius Erasmus.* At the age of four the boy was sent to school, in a few years was employed as a singing-boy in the Cathedral of Utrecht, and at nine was transferred to the high school of Deventer. After three or four years the plague broke out in that region, scattered the school, and sent young Erasmus home, an orphan. His father had left him in the hands of two guardians, who, thinking they could manage the property more to their own satisfaction if the boy could only be put out of the way, tried to persuade him to become a monk, and prevailed upon him, in fact, to connect himself, on probation, with a certain college, called "Friars of Community." There he suffered greatly; "for," he says, "when they found a scholar that was of too high a spirit, and had too much life for a convent, they took more care to check and discourage him by threats and chastisements, than to instruct him in true learning." He returned, sick and sorrowful, to his tutors, who tried all means of getting him to enter the monastery, even hiring people to expostulate with him and threaten him; but, unlike young Luther, he had as little taste for monkery as for music. At last he said he would think of the matter, and on a certain day give them his decision; but when the day came, he made answer, that he had concluded to wait till he should understand better what the world was, what a

monastery was, and what he himself was. Upon this his governors declared they would resign their commission, and leave him to shift for himself, which, he replied, he felt himself abundantly competent to do. At length, however, beset on all sides by friends, foes, and fevers, he yielded to the entreaties of one of his old college chums, who had entered the convent, and went in also, in his sixteenth or seventeenth year, and then and there wrote his first work, on "Contempt of the World." He certainly had had no great reason to be in love with it yet.

In 1492 he was ordained priest. About that time the Bishop of Cambray, who had hopes of a cardinal's hat, and would have secured it, Erasmus says, if he could have raised the money, was meditating a journey to Rome for the purpose, and invited Erasmus to be his travelling companion and Latin spokesman. The Roman scheme fell through, but still Erasmus went to Paris, the Bishop promising to pay his expenses, which, however, he never did. By this time Erasmus had become so poor that he writes to a friend, — "The first money I get I shall devote to the purchase of Greek books, and the next to buying clothes for my back." At Paris he studied divinity. He says, however, he did not fancy the study, or rather he feared it, because he had a presentiment that he should certainly study himself into heresy, and so bring upon himself endless trouble. The metaphysical lectures, too, he found as unpalatable and unwholesome to his mind, as the bad bread and wine were to his bodily system. At the same time the plague, which returned annually for several years, did not allow him to study much, but kept him travelling between France and Holland, with an occasional visit to England. In this last-named country he made many friends, and a singular circumstance, he mentions, made him popular there; namely, that having, on one occasion, (probably as he was about to embark at Dover,) been robbed by certain real or pretended government officers, he not only did not revenge the injury, but came out shortly with a book in praise of the English king and people.

In 1499 he was driven by pestilence to Louvain, where he studied law, and *cooled himself*, says Father

Dupin, with reading Accursius, Bartholus, and Baldus. He was soon invited to England again by the great promises of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which, however, not being fulfilled to his mind, he made a journey in 1506 to Italy, and there, at Bononia, took the degree of Doctor of Divinity. The way in which he became known to the Pope was singular. Having on his shoulders the white scapulary of the canons regular, he was mistaken in the streets for a plague-doctor, and pursued with stick, stone, and sword. He immediately wrote to the secretary of Julius II., "in an agreeable and pathetic style," old Dupin says, requesting a dispensation from the dangerous obligation of his order, which his Holiness was pleased to grant. He next visited Venice, where he corrected for the press established by the brothers Aldi (the famous printers after whom our Aldine editions are named), and thence passed on, through Padua and Ferrara, to Rome, whither his fame had preceded him. He refused the office of Penitentiary, but accepted a pressing invitation to return to England, whither he went in 1509, and became the guest of Sir Thomas More, at whose house he wrote, and to whom he dedicated, his *Encomium Moriæ*, or Praise of Folly, the title suggesting the name of the proper patron for the work. Refusing the offer of a curacy under the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1510 he crossed over to Paris, whence, however, he soon returned to England, and taught Greek at Oxford and Cambridge. Preferring, however, for some reason unknown to us, visiting England to living there, he soon departed for Bâle, in Switzerland, and thence came round again to the Low Countries, revisiting England now and then, in the few following years, and writing all the time at the taverns where he stopped on his journeys, and sometimes composing on horseback. It was in this period of his life that, after refusing repeated offers from the king of France, he accepted the office of state-councillor to the Archduke Charles of Austria, afterwards Charles V., and took up his residence at Louvain.

The names of Charles V. and Louvain remind us that we are approaching a period of Erasmus's life, when a new kind of plague began to hunt him about from one position to another through the mental regions, as the

bodily plague had hitherto driven him from place to place; — the period which calls us off from following the course of his life in this chronological manner, to survey some of his literary, philosophic, and theological labors, to glance at his long war with the monks, and, particularly, to remark upon his sorest conflict, that which was occasioned by a certain monk over in Germany.

The works of Erasmus, to some of which we have already alluded, make ten folio volumes. His Latin, particularly in his letters, is so pure and free, that it has been said even Cicero would hardly have supposed his language capable of such flexibility. On the subject of Latinity he was at issue with a large body of the scholars of his day, against whom he wrote the Dialogues called *the Ciceronian*, condemning his opponents for making Cicero, not only the representative of the Augustan age of letters, but the exclusive standard of his language. His translations and editions of Greek and Latin classics and fathers were numerous. To pass from mere philological to more practical productions, his *Encomium Moriæ*, the date and dedication of which have already been mentioned, created an immense sensation in its day, passing through twenty-seven editions during its author's lifetime. This work represents Folly as giving an account of her children, the monks, clergy, bishops, and popes of the age; yes, even the popes, for the writer *had* known Julius II. and Alexander VI., but had not yet known Leo X. The Colloquies, by which Erasmus is, perhaps, best known, popularly, as a scholar, were first published surreptitiously, from a manuscript which he had lent to some one; and the publisher, by skilfully giving out that the work was about to be prohibited as heretical, managed to sell many thousand copies. Still, of the legitimate edition, in the year 1527 alone, no less than twenty-four thousand copies were disposed of. The object of the Colloquies was to write up morality at the expense of the superstitious usages of the Church. Morals and manners were the favorite subjects of Erasmus's pen, but he wrote various treatises on theology, ecclesiastical discipline, and piety. An old writer has said that Erasmus was "one of the first that treated matters of divinity in a genteel" (gentlemanly?) "way, disengaged from the sophistry and chicanery of the

schools." His *Enchiridion*, or Christian Soldier's Handbook, was composed about the year 1500, at the instance of a devout lady, who had desired of him some treatise that might be edifying to her husband, a soldier, but not precisely *of the cross*. The work, it seems, failed to answer its immediate purpose, though the man admitted that there was more holiness in the book than in the author. He wrote a Method of Divinity, or Treatise on Ministerial Preparation; an elaborate treatise on preaching, called "Ecclesiastes," and a treatise on the Christian institution of marriage, called "Connubial Precepts," and dedicated to Queen Catharine of England. In this last-named work, we notice, he advises that children, as early as the age of three years, be taught to bow at the name of Jesus and kiss the crucifix. He also wrote an elaborate defence of the confessional, answering objections to it, and, at the same time, exposing its abuses and dangers. Especially does he deprecate too frequent confession, or repetition of it. He says, if one happens to relapse after confessing, it is enough to enumerate the sins committed since the last confession; "it is not well to stir the dirt too often." Some of his expressions in this tract look, to a Protestant, almost ironical, and make one think of Voltaire. The question, how much more sincere Erasmus may have been in his Romanism than the dying Voltaire, may safely be left to the Searcher of hearts. One could wish, however, that Carlyle, who has meted out so much more than common justice to the memory of the French philosopher, would undertake, with like spirit and ability, the case of Erasmus.

It must certainly be admitted that Erasmus was one of the most important forerunners and pioneers of the Reformation, — that he helped to prepare the mind of the age to respond to a call from Luther, to which he could not, indeed, respond himself. Erasmus, it has been said, *picked the lock* of the door, which Luther pushed open and entered. The common saying was, in the days of the Reformation, that "Erasmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it," — a saying, however, which Erasmus, in elegant Latin, contradicts in several of his epistles, insisting that his was a hen's egg, but Luther had brooded over some fiercer fowl, — a vulture, or a crow

at least. Erasmus disliked Luther, at the climacteric of the latter, almost as much as Luther did the Anabaptists themselves. We think of him, that delicate son of the Muses, whose fingers were so formidable to the brood of scholastic folly and pretension, monastic hypocrisy and harpyism, — when Luther arose, and renewed the attack which he had begun, — as shaking and swaying like a tall reed in the gale of Reformation that sweeps through Europe. Almost every page of his correspondence seems to show that Luther, — Luther, — is the spectre that haunts his life, and will not down. We fancy him going through Europe, seeking rest, and finding none, — running, as it were, instinctively, for the sake of keeping his balance, on a fence of neutrality, where he cannot well *stand* steady, — insisting to prince and prelate, to cardinal and pontiff, to king and scholar, that he *knows not the man*. In short, we are almost tempted to indorse the words of a living English essayist,* that Erasmus

"was a Reformer, until the Reformation became a fearful reality; a jester at the bulwarks of the Papacy, until they began to give way; a propagator of the Gospels, until men betook themselves to the study and application of them; — in short, a learned, ingenious, benevolent, amiable, timid, irresolute man, who, bearing the responsibility, resigned to others the glory, of rescuing the human mind from the bondage of a thousand years."

But let us not judge too superficially, — too sweepingly. It may well be questioned whether what the reviewer asserts in the last clause is true, — that Erasmus *had* specially the responsibility, that his was the gift and the mission, to do precisely the kind of work which Luther did. Possibly Erasmus knew his own nature, talents, and aptitudes better than they can be known to any of us. There is much to be said for him, as well as against him, though his defenders may have gone as far towards one extreme as his defamers have towards the other. It may appear that such men did a work for the world, in their way, which they could not have done, or better than they could have done it, in any other way. Perhaps this is not the most favorable age of the world

* Stephens.

for judging such a man as Erasmus. Discretion is not apt to be thought "the better part of" moral "valor," or even reconcilable with decision of character, in our day and country. Men forget that the mighty Mississippi winds and winds far and wide before it pours its volume of waters into the gulf, and that the track of the cannon-ball —

"Shattering that it may reach, and shattering *that* it reaches" —

is not the only nor the best emblem of a true, manly character and career. We are no panegyrists of Erasmus, but we must say in his behalf, that one has no right (though it is a common course) to take for granted that a man, however great, strong, and clear in some respects, is necessarily clear and settled on certain points which we can see now to have been the main ones, and then proceed to charge him with inconsistency, lukewarmness, and cowardice. If it can be seen, or plausibly maintained, that his opinions, his convictions, really are not clear on certain matters, then let his moral character have all the benefit of that mental uncertainty, so far as his moral character itself does not manifestly generate the very skepticism or conservatism with which we reproach him; but, at all events, let us have that charity which rejoiceth in the truth. The *star of Europe* paled, indeed, before the *sun of Wittenberg*, and went down slowly and sadly behind the horizon of Bâle; but Erasmus will never be forgotten as the herald of the Reformation, — as one of the beginners of it, — as a great vindicator of the freedom of mind, — though he may have had many unnecessary apprehensions of the danger of consistently and thoroughly following out the principle of mental independence.

It was in the year 1516 — the year before Luther struck the first blow of his great revolution (we mean the blow of that *hammer* on the church-door of Wittenberg, which hit the right nail, and hit it on the head) — that Erasmus brought out the work which probably best entitled him to the thanks of the friends of the Reformation, namely, his edition of the Greek New Testament, with a Latin translation, based upon the Vulgate, or common Latin version of the Church, but corrected by him after the Greek original. This raised a great hue

and cry against the man. "Presumptuous fellow!" said the monks, "he undertakes to correct the Holy Ghost!" They could not bear the sight of that new language, the Devil had invented, they said, called Greek. It was, indeed, a *Greek fire*, destined to work deadly mischief in the camp and city of the Prince Diabolus and the Lords Demas and Diotrephes. Leo, however, to whom the work was dedicated, sanctioned and patronized it. From this epoch must be dated Erasmus's tedious and thorny conflict with the divines of his age, particularly in the Universities of Louvain and Paris, which resulted in a final edict of condemnation against him in 1531. His reply to the Parisian faculty gives us some singular glimpses of his notions, and of what, at that day, was accounted heresy. One of the propositions condemned by them was, that *he was not sure that an angel was more excellent than a man.*

But we must pass on to those of Erasmus's writings which, on almost every page, represent to us his important relation to the Reformation, — his letters. These letters alone occupy, in the vast folio edition of double columns, twenty-one hundred pages. Twenty-eight books of them were published under his own auspices, in 1521, and in the course of the fifteen remaining years of his life three books more grew up. So full of Luther are these letters, that it seems as if a history of the Reformation might be drawn from them alone. But, full as they are of Luther, they are fuller of Erasmus.

We have taken considerable pains to select, from the immense mass of Erasmus's miscellaneous epistles, sundry passages of significance, which we do not find to have been quoted by the writers on the subject generally, and which may help us to a fair view of the mind and merits of the man, in respect to the Lutheran movement.

Erasmus, though, as we have seen, he had done much towards preparing the way for an ecclesiastical revolution, aimed less at reformation of Church doctrine than at reformation of Church discipline; less at that than at the restoration of letters. Least of all did he design a revolution in the ecclesiastical world, which, as a lover of ease and dignity, and leisure for study, he always, and no doubt sincerely, protested that he did cordially abominate.

As early as the June following Luther's attack on indulgences, we find Erasmus writing to Cardinal Cajetan, from Antwerp, and acknowledging that even the enemies of Luther praise his life and character, and that he himself had been sometimes unjust to the man, fearing he might bring discredit on polite learning, which was already sufficiently obnoxious. He then refers to pamphlets of Luther's recently published, of which he had done all he could to prevent the publication, and which no one has seen him reading, nor heard him either approving *or disapproving*. He would not be so rash as to approve what he had not read, nor so sycophantic as to condemn what he knew nothing about. Already, it would seem, he had begun to be confounded with the Lutheran party, for he writes from Louvain "to a certain calumniator," as the letter is headed, — "I neither accuse Luther nor defend him. But if you go on assailing my reputation with such petulance, see that, even my lenity being conquered, I do not cause you to be celebrated a thousand years hence among virulent sycophants, illustrious scoundrels, dangerous physicians." And about the same time he complains to the Rector of the Academy, that one of the preachers had recently prayed that, as Paul, from being a persecutor, had become a teacher of the Church, even so Luther and Erasmus might be converted. "These jokes," adds Erasmus, "if they please your Academy, I am the man that can bear."

More than a year had now passed since Luther's first act of open resistance to the established abuses, and they of Wittenberg began to be impatient of the slowness of so distinguished a brother or father reformer to come out in their support. Melancthon wrote to him in January, 1519, — "Martin Luther, a most devoted admirer of your name, desires your approbation." At length, in April, Luther himself wrote his first, and almost his last, letter to Erasmus, calling him "our glory and our hope," begging him to "acknowledge this little brother in Christ," and, in short, couched in the most elaborate terms of mingled endearment and adulation. Erasmus's reply from Louvain, under date of the June following, *wants words to express what tragedies Luther's books have excited down there;* "nor can," he says, "the very false suspicion yet be banished from their minds, that your lucubrations were

written with my assistance, and that of this faction, as they call it, I am the standard-bearer." "For myself," he tells Luther, "so far as I can, I maintain my integrity," (that is, his wholeness, meaning that he does not distract his mind with the religious controversies,) "that I may the better serve the revival of good letters. And it seems to me" (and who will question Erasmus's sincerity in this?) "that more is effected by civility and moderation, than by impetuosity. Thus it was that Christ brought the world under his dominion; thus Paul abrogated the Jewish law, reducing every thing to allegory. It is more politic to decry those who abuse the Papal authority, than the Popes themselves. . . . . I am not admonishing you what to do, but only to do always what you are doing now."

This correspondence took place before the Wittenberg bonfire. We soon find Erasmus writing in all directions, and to all sorts of people, pope, prince, prelate, intimate friends, and anonymous correspondents, defending himself with the most copious variety of reasoning and rhetoric against the suspicion of a Lutheran leaning. In January, 1520, he writes from Louvain, that it seems to his enemies a fine sophism, but it was born amidst their cups (*inter pocula*), to yoke together himself and Luther, which, says he, is like yoking a bull and a deer. It must in justice be said, along with this, that Erasmus repeatedly insists, and that most powerfully, to the Church dignitaries, upon Luther's having a fair hearing. "If he is in error, I would have him corrected and cured, not crushed." "Generous minds want to be taught, cannot bear to be forced. It is for tyrants to compel, for theologians to convince." He admits that the Pope's authority is of great weight, but so much the more care should be taken, he says, not to expose it. Accordingly, he disapproved highly of the Pope's bull against Luther, and thought it would do more harm than good. And when he was at Cologne, he says, at the time of the Emperor's coronation, he tried to bring it about, that Luther and Leo should both bear off the palm, the one of obedience, and the other of clemency. Erasmus alludes here, in part, probably, to what took place between himself and the Elector Frederic, when the latter had come to Cologne to meet the Emperor, assist at his coronation, and

conduct him to the Diet of Worms. The Elector, on that occasion, sent for Erasmus, one morning, and requested his opinion of Luther. For some time Erasmus's lips were as fixed as the eyes of the Elector, who stood with his back to the fire, awaiting the reply. At length it came: — "Luther has committed two crimes: he has touched the Pope's tiara and the maw of the monks." But, not satisfied with this ironical answer, Frederic insisted on the philosopher's writing down his real sentiments. He accordingly retired, and drew up a list of "Axioms," as he calls them, "in the Case of Martin Luther, the Theologian," in which he defends the rights of Luther as a free man, asserts the impolicy of persecuting him, and plainly intimates that, as regarded the merits of the case, all the wrong was not on *his* side.

It may be said, indeed, and has been said, that Erasmus knew to whom he was speaking, — that it was easy enough to defend Luther to Luther's friends. But there is no good ground for such an insinuation against the man's motives. For the fact is, that some of his most decided assertions of Luther's rights as a man, responsible to his own conscience, and to be managed only through his reason, were made to prominent Church dignitaries, bishops, and cardinals, who were Luther's foremost antagonists. Nor does his indignation, when Ulrich Hütten ran off with his "Axioms," and published them, militate against this defence, for there were expressions in the paper, aside from the plea for Luther the man, which were not meant for the public eye or the Pope's. We find Erasmus equally earnest and eloquent, then, in defending Luther as a man, and in defending himself against the suspicion of siding with Luther the theologian and the revolutionizer. He praises to Leo Luther's mode of interpreting Scripture, but insists that he follows Luther no farther than Luther follows Christ. In the same letter he says, — "If any one has heard me, in my cups, defending Luther's doctrine, I consent to be called a Lutheran." This allusion to the *cups* seems to have been a favorite figure with him. "O unheard-of Lutheran I," he exclaims, in a letter to Cardinal Campeggio, "defining his position," as we should say, — "I, who was the first to condemn Luther's books, because they seemed to me to tend towards tumult, which I have

always detested, — I, who was the first to oppose the publishing of his lucubrations, — I, almost the only one who has not read his writings, nor attempted to defend them, even in my cups, where whatever comes uppermost is usually written with wine, as it were, instead of ink." "I wash my hands of this tragedy," he says in other letters, — "I wish I were as clear of all vices as I am of this business. I would not hesitate to die, even without confession." "In those articles which are condemned, of Luther's books, I see nothing in which he agrees with me, except, perhaps, that what I say moderately and in its place, he says immoderately and unseasonably. . . . . If this is agreeing," adds Erasmus, "then wine and vinegar agree."

But, said his enemies and rivals, if you are not on the side of Luther, prove it by writing against him. *Silence implies consent.* "Does it?" answers Erasmus. "If all are silent who do not write against the man, then has he a large party. But *I* have been *so* silent as to get all the Lutherans on my back."

Finding they could not provoke, they tried to laugh him into compliance. On one occasion, while Charles and his ministers were in session in the old town-hall at Worms, there entered a most extraordinary and unexpected pantomime. A person representing John Reuchlin, the Hebrew scholar, came in, threw down a bundle of fagots in the old Gothic fireplace, and disappeared. He was followed by a masked ecclesiastic, with a sharp nose, fiery eye, and compressed lips, who advanced slowly, saluting the company right and left, and after vainly endeavouring to straighten the crooked sticks and crook the straight ones, so as to make them fit, muttered some unintelligible jargon and retired, displaying on his back, as he did so, the name Erasmus. Luther entered next, of course, and simply set fire to the whole.

But although, as Erasmus said, his envious enemies, with all their levers, could not stir nor start him, the time was drawing on for an open rupture between him and Luther. Though he had not attacked Luther, he had now and then let off a side-squib of a witticism against the Reformers; and some of them, too, had done things that particularly galled him, — for instance, Ulrich Hütten, the knight-errant of the Reformation. Erasmus had writ-

ten a letter to the Archbishop of Mayence, which had to pass through the hands of Hütten, then in the service of that dignitary. Hütten, instead of delivering it, broke the seal, read and published it, and, wherever Luther was named, he made Erasmus say, in the printed copy, "*our* Luther." Erasmus never forgot nor forgave it. He said, if accidental, it was most unlucky; but if it was treachery, it was worse than Punic.

Erasmus's enemies have turned to great account the attempt he made, about this time, to seduce Melancthon from Luther's party; but one would think their tone of triumph on this score should be somewhat abated by the mortifying confessions Melancthon himself made, after Luther's death, of the slavish life he had led under the great Reformer's dictatorship,—such a life that, he says, he had several times almost made up his mind to *run away.*

The year 1521 had passed, and Erasmus still persisted in declining to attack Luther. The man, says he, has a hundred hands. The thing is full of peril. "Luther is too great for me to attack; too great for me to understand." That was true: the man of words cannot easily understand the man of deeds. However, in December of that year, we find him asking leave of the Pope, through Cardinal Bembo, to read Luther's books. The years 1522 and 1523 passed by. Henry VIII. and Pope Adrian (Erasmus's former fellow-student at Louvain) ineffectually strove to spur him to the charge. The year 1524 opened. The new Pope, Clement, was profuse in his compliments, presents, and promises. But for ourselves, we must say, we think somewhat better of Erasmus, than to believe that the absurd summons of a Bishop Tonstal, conjuring him, by his hope of eternal glory, to stop the barking of that dismal Cerberus, or the expostulations of a Duke George, appealing to him on the score of dignity and decency, had much weight in the scale. The truth is, as early as 1520 Erasmus had said that, so soon as he should finish editing Augustine's works, he would show how much he disliked seditious men, and respected the Roman See, little as she might need the support of his feeble hand.

Luther, learning that Erasmus meditated an attack upon him, wrote him, in April, 1524, the following char-

acteristic letter, which, as we have never seen an English version of it, we translate as literally as possible:—

"Grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ. I have now been silent long enough, best Erasmus, and although I expected that you, the elder and superior, would break silence first, yet, as I have waited so long in vain, charity itself, I think, constrains me to begin. First, I do not complain that you have kept somewhat aloof from us, in order that your cause might be the more safe and sound against my enemies, the Papists. Finally, I did not take it very ill, that, in some pamphlets you published for the sake of winning their favor, or appeasing their fury, you did somewhat bitterly bite and prick us. Since, indeed, we see that the Lord has not yet given you the strength or the sense to stand up with us freely and faithfully against these monsters of ours, nor are we the persons to require of thee what surpasses thy might and measure. Nay, we have tolerated, and would have venerated, thy imbecility and the measure of the gift of God which is in thee. For this, truly, the whole world cannot deny, that letters flourish and prevail, by which men come to a sound reading of the Scriptures, and that there is in thee a magnificent and excellent gift of God, for which we ought to be thankful. Accordingly, I never wished, indeed, that, either deserting or neglecting your own stint, you would come over to our camp, for, although you might profit our cause much by genius and eloquence, yet, as the spirit is wanting, it would be safer that you serve in your own gift. This was our only fear, that you might be induced by our adversaries to write books against our doctrines, and then we should be under the necessity of withstanding you to your face. In fact, we have checked some, who had already prepared pamphlets for the sake of drawing you into the arena, and this was the reason why I wished Hütten's *Expostulation*, and much more your *Sponge*, had never been published, in which, unless I mistake, you yourself already perceive how easy it is to write about modesty, and to accuse Luther of wanting it, but how very difficult, nay, impossible, to exercise it, except by a singular gift of the spirit. Believe me, then, or not, Christ is my witness, that, from my heart, I pity you, for that the passions or efforts of so many persons have been roused against you, by which (since your human virtue is unequal to such mountains) I cannot believe that you are not moved. Although they, too, perhaps, may be stirred by a just zeal, and seem to themselves to have been unhandsomely provoked by you. And (to confess freely) as they are persons who, by reason of their own infirmity, also, cannot bear your bitterness and dissimulations (which you would have pass for prudence and moderation), they certainly have ground to be indignant, which they would not have if they had

stronger minds. And although I myself, an irritable person, have often been provoked to write somewhat bitterly, still I have done this only against the obstinate and indomitable. But my mildness and clemency toward sinners and blasphemers, however insane and iniquitous, have been sufficiently attested, I think, not only by my own conscience, but by the experience of many bearing me witness. So that I have hitherto reined in my pen, however you might punch me, and have even written letters to friends (which have been read to you also) to restrain them until you should come out openly. For, although you do not sympathize with us, and either impiously or feignedly condemn or suspend many articles of piety, still I cannot and will not impute to you pertinacity. But now, what shall I do? Either way, the thing is most disagreeable. I could wish (if I were mediator) that they, also, would desist from attacking you with so much animosity, and would suffer your old age to sink peacefully to sleep in the Lord. And that they would truly do, in my opinion, if they had regard to your imbecility, and weighed the magnitude of the cause, which has long since exceeded your small measure, and especially as the affair has already reached a point where little danger were to be feared for our cause, though Erasmus should assail it with all his might, and even though he should sometimes resort to tooth and nail. On the other hand, if you, my Erasmus, would consider their infirmity, and abstain from those bitter and briny figures of your rhetoric, although, to be sure, you neither could nor dare assert our side, still you would let us pass untouched, and advocate your own. For there is some reason (you yourself being judge) why they should bear your bites somewhat hardly, namely, because human infirmity considers and fears much the name and authority of Erasmus, and it is a far different thing once to have been bitten by Erasmus, than to be ground up by the teeth of all the Papists at once. I wished to say these things, best Erasmus, in testimony of my candid disposition towards you, and of my desire that the Lord would give you a spirit worthy of your name, which if the Lord should defer giving you, I beg you, meanwhile, if you cannot render us any other service, that you would simply remain a spectator of our tragedy, and not give aid and comfort to our adversaries, especially that you would not publish books against me, as I will not against you. Then, that you would consider those who complain of being assailed for the Lutheran name as men like you and me, whom it is necessary to spare and pardon, and, as Paul says, *bear one another's burdens.* There has been biting enough; we must see to it now, that we are not eaten up by each other, which would be a spectacle so much the more miserable, as it is quite certain that neither party, at least, wishes ill to religion, and that each may be better satisfied without being obstinate. Regard tenderly my infantile babbling, and farewell in the Lord."

Erasmus's answer to this "civil letter," as he himself acknowledged it to be, though not found in his collected correspondence, has been discovered in some of the archives. He says, among other things, that his writing against Luther may, after all, help Luther's real cause more than many of its foolish friends do.

In the autumn of 1524, Erasmus writes from Bâle to King Henry, perhaps as a hint to induce him to make advances, that no printer there would dare to publish his book. However, the *Disquisition on Free Will* came out very soon, and early in the year 1525 we find Luther all taken up with refuting Erasmus; and near the end of the next year came out his book on the *Bondage of the Will.* He needed hardly to have apologized for delaying so long to answer such a work, at such a period of intense and eventful interest, political and personal, as the year 1525. But he does apologize, and one excuse is the slipperiness of the book he has to handle. He compares Erasmus to an Ulysses, — a very Proteus. However, he undertakes to seize and subdue him. We, remembering Johnson's reply to Boswell, — "Sir, I know my will is free, and there 's an end of it!" — may leave them to wrestle, even in the shades, about those metaphysical shadows which exercised Milton's lower angels, amusing ourselves, in passing, with the conclusion of Luther's book, in which he calls on Erasmus to fulfil his promise, that he would surrender when defeated. "You say," says Luther, "that you do not assert, but only argue. *I assert*, and I call on every one to obey the truth which I maintain."

Erasmus says, playfully, that, from the moment he wrote his book on free will, he himself ceased to be a free agent. There cannot be much satisfaction in pursuing the details of the quarrel. Both were evidently past the time when the nature of a man is in its best state of balance. The one had been a little unsettled in his nervous system by excessive labor and many perplexities and provocations, — the other still more by labors, infirmities, perplexities, and advancing years. Erasmus made a rejoinder to Luther, which the latter calls *waspish*, and a letter has been found in the archives of Weimar, in which the philosopher exhorts the Elector John to punish his refractory subject. At the same time he wrote to

Luther, saying, —"I would wish you a better mind, were you not so well pleased with the one you have. Wish me what you will, only not your own disposition, unless the Lord see fit to change it." Luther grew more and more bitter. One Trinity Sunday he prays his people and all good friends of Christ to be enemies of Erasmus. He calls him "Erasmus, that vainglorious animal." He charges them, as his last will and testament, to hate and loathe "Erasmus, that viper." He does not forget Erasmus, even amidst the charms of home and nature. Does he call his children out into the fields to admire a lovely sunset? He remembers how little Erasmus can appreciate such things. "Poor Erasmus!" he says, in a sort of apostrophe, "indeed, what can you know of such beauties? You gaze at God's works as a cow stares at a new door!" Luther persisted in declaring that Erasmus wanted to establish paganism on the ruins of Christianity, and one of his last expressions with regard to his great antagonist was, —"I hold Erasmus of Rotterdam to be Christ's bitterest enemy."

Poor Erasmus seems to have had little comfort in his last years. He complains bitterly of the multitude of sects that have sprung up or crept in at Bâle, and says, if he knew any place free from that plague of heresy and schism, thither he would go to live; and when, in 1529, Charles V. came into Germany to settle the religious difficulties, and Erasmus was quoted as favoring toleration, he came out with an indignant repudiation of the charge and asserted the right and duty of using the sword against heretics. The gravel and the plague, stoves, fish-smells, *and Ulrich Hütten*, seem to have tormented his life to the last. More than once he had left the little Swiss city, as he thought, for ever, saying, as he waved his farewell, "Mayst thou never find a guest more troublesome than I have been!" But again and again he returned to it, for it was to be his last residence and resting-place. Refusing the offer of a cardinal's hat, which he was too poor to accept, he was made Rector of Bâle University, and died there, calling on Christ for mercy, on the 12th of July, 1536, in the seventieth year of his age. His last letter is dated the June previous, and signed, in abbreviated Latin, "Erasmus of Rotterdam, with a sick hand" ("Eras. Rot. æg. manû").

Erasmus's "person," we are informed, "was small, with light hair, blue, half-closed eyes, full of acute observation, and humor playing about the delicate mouth; his air was so timorous, that he looked as if a breath would overthrow him, and he trembled at the very name of death."

Erasmus, in his latter days, beguiled some of the heavy hours by writing a sketch of his habits, principles, and experiences. "His health," he says, "was always delicate, and was tried by frequent fevers; especially in his fiftieth year, on account of the eating of fish, the very odor of which was offensive to him. He had a simple spirit, and such an abhorrence of mendacity that, when a boy, he hated boys who told lies, and, when old, was agitated bodily at the sight of them." What he says here about his simplicity and truthfulness may provoke a smile from some readers, and a repetition of Burns's lines about the difficulty of *seeing oursel's as ithers see us*, and the proverbial dislike of certain natures to recognize their own image in others. But, after all, whoso shall carefully study the man's whole situation and course, and consider that he lived in an age when fraud was consecrated by church example, and when even a Luther's skirts were not quite clear, will probably admit that Erasmus, on the whole, is true and truthful in this also, and that even when he did consult expediency, it was not always what might be expedient for himself that he calculated, but oftener what might be expedient for humanity, according, of course, to his own standard of its true interests. Let us hear him a little further: — "He never wrote any thing that pleased him. . . . . He was a steadfast despiser of riches and dignities, and prized nothing above liberty and leisure. A candid appraiser of other men's doctrines. In advancing good letters, none effected more than he, and he sustained a grievous odium from monks and barbarians on that very account. Up to his fiftieth year he had never attacked any person, nor been attacked by any one, with the pen. And it had been his purpose to keep his pen bloodless. . . . . The Lutheran tragedy loaded him with intolerable odium; while he sought to serve" (not *please*) "each party, he was hawked at and picked to pieces by both."

In reviewing the career and character of Erasmus, we are filled with conflicting or alternate feelings of admira-

tion, impatience, and pity. Bravely did he battle with the pedants, bigots, and dunces of his day; much did he for the cause of reason, liberty, and liberality. Only, for himself, it would seem, he lived either too early or too late. And when we consider that he lived out the better part of his days in the twilight and transition period between the middle and the modern ages, we must be very ungrateful, if we can find it in our hearts to think it would have been as well had such a man never lived, — to join with those who would denounce him indiscriminately as a pedant, a conservative, a dilettante, a mocker, and a timeserver, — or to refrain from cherishing with a somewhat tender respect the memory of the philosopher of Rotterdam.

On the pedestal of Erasmus's statue at Rotterdam are inscribed two stanzas, which, in their own language (though it may seem like imposing on the ignorance of the uninitiated to say so) are not without a certain rich music, and which, if one should sacrifice something of their native melody, for the sake of giving a Chinese copy of a Dutch original, would run, in the Queen's English, somewhat literally, thus: —

"Here the great sun rose, and at Bâle went under!
Her saint the city honors in his grave;
She gives this second life, who the first gave,
To him, the age's light and lord and glorious wonder.

"Whom Peace, Love, Learning, graced with mingling ray,
No tomb could honor, nor ten worlds repay;
For that, must this blue vault Erasmus cover, —
No narrower dome can roof his mausoleum over!"

C. T. B.

Art. VII. — WORDSWORTH THE CHRISTIAN POET.

A peculiar interest is always attached to the closing period of the lives of men distinguished for their genius, or their position and their power over others. "The last words of King David, the anointed of God" and "the sweet Psalmist of Israel," — with what intenseness we read them, and how sacred to us is their import! That monarch had reigned for forty years, and "he died,"

at last, as we are told, "in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honor." But what constituted his chief honor and his permanent glory? Not the multitude of his riches, nor yet, again, his royal majesty. No, his wealth was soon squandered by his successors, and his dominion was eclipsed at once by the splendor of his son's, and it soon wasted away and was comparatively forgotten. It was his works and his fame as the sweet Psalmist of Israel that transmitted his name with an undying renown. It is mainly as a poet, uttering rich strains forced from him by his eventful experience, that he has come down to us and is destined to an honor that cannot perish or be dimmed while there are hearts left upon earth to suffer and to rejoice.

A parallel may be drawn between the illustrious Psalmist and a poet recently departed in our fatherland, which, in some points, is striking. Wordsworth died, as he did, in a good old age, full of days, and if not of riches, yet surely of honors. He did not indeed occupy a throne, yet he was the Poet Laureate of his monarch, and he sat on an inner throne whose foundation will endure when crowns and sceptres have vanished from the globe.

He should not pass away without a special commemoration in our Christian journals, for he was eminently a Christian poet. Not only did he drink in the inspirations of nature, and imbue himself with the truths and spirit of philosophy, but he was also the poet of humanity, and in the highest and best sense he was the poet of religion. Take the narrowest view you will of Christianity, you cannot so contract its compass as to exclude his writings fairly from it. Say that he only is a Christian poet who confines himself to the themes of religion and morality, and there is no place so sacred that the claims of Wordsworth, on this ground, should not be presented there. But Christianity does not make this illiberal estimate of the province and merits of poetry. Wherever God has shown forth his handiwork, in all the myriad powers and processes of creation, there is a field hallowed by the touch of his finger, and whoever by his pen portrays worthily any part of these works is entitled to the respectful notice even of the Church and the pulpit. And he who paints to the eye of imagination, and in a spiritual tone, the interior realm of man's being, and sets

forth with elevation the philosophy of our nature, is discharging an office to be honored now by the Christian, and to be held in a pious and unfailing remembrance.

The great man of whom we write was emphatically the poet of Nature. His spirit, like that of David, was steeped in her works. In his ear day was ever uttering speech unto day, and night showing knowledge unto night. Dwelling in a region of surpassing loveliness, where one seems to hear nothing but her melodies, and to see nothing but her delicate tracings, where indeed we feel an unearthly exhilaration breathed into us by the heaven-reflecting lake, the sublime mountain, the graceful valley, the modest rill and gentle waterfall, he inhaled constantly an atmosphere of quiet beauty. Others, amid sterner scenes, were putting forth a more fervid and exciting verse; but his long life fed itself with an unruffled content amid these tempered and peaceful views. The star above, the glowworm below, the humble daisy, the imposing mount, — all objects, whether enlarged or minute, were made to pour their varying voices through his pliant measure. His attentive ear welcomed the glad testimony as a personal benefit: — "Wherever snow falls, or water flows, or birds fly, wherever day and night meet in twilight, wherever the blue heaven is hung by clouds or sown with stars, wherever are forms with transparent boundaries, wherever are outlets into celestial space, wherever is danger, and awe, and love, there is beauty, plenteous as rain, shed for thee."

But the outward did not engross his powers. He entered also, and with the same all-comprehensive and the same minute fidelity, into a portraiture of the interior world. His personal experience was not apparently diversified by many trials and changes of fortune. He was not, like the Psalmist of Israel, raised from the condition of a shepherd to that of filling a throne. He did not win laurels on the battle-field, or suffer so bitterly as David from trials and enemies, or from domestic afflictions. And yet, like him, he has struck nearly every chord of the human heart in its multitudinous experiences. He is alike skilled in the musings of abstract sentiment, and in the simplest emotion of the infant child. No hour is so jubilant and none so sad that he does not present us some line meet for the occasion. With a magic skill he

unlocks our very inner door, and enters alike our "chambers of imagery" and our mansions of feeling, and those of silent, deep, and gentle, or of overmastering thought.

Closely allied to this gift, and an exhibition sometimes of it in its largest scope, is his sympathy with those in humble life. He is the poet of humanity, and this, were it all we can say in his favor, constitutes him, so far forth, a Christian poet. Following in the steps of him who came to preach the Gospel to the poor and to seek and to save that which was lost, he espoused the cause of that class who had been hitherto undervalued by most in his vocation, and whom the great world would not yet receive as brethren and equals. He left to others the unworthy task of flattering the rich, and the titled, and the powerful, and gave himself to the elevation of the lowly. He resolutely denied the right of the educated to engross all knowledge of the true and the good to themselves. In his own high strain, he tells us, — and it is one of the noblest embodiments of the spirit of Christianity: —

> "The primal duties shine aloft, like stars;
> The charities that soothe, and heal, and bless,
> Are scattered at the feet of man, like flowers.
> The generous inclination, the just rule,
> Kind wishes, and good actions, and pure thoughts, —
> No mystery is here; no special boon
> For high and not for low, for proudly graced,
> And not for meek of heart. The smoke ascends
> To heaven as lightly from the cottage hearth
> As from the haughty palace. He whose soul
> Ponders this true equality may walk
> The fields of earth with gratitude and hope;
> Yet, in that meditation, will he find
> Motive to sadder grief, as we have found, —
> Lamenting ancient virtues overthrown,
> And for the injustice grieving, that hath made
> So wide a difference betwixt Man and Man."

That injustice he determined, according to his power, to redress. Turning away from the supernatural machinery of previous and contemporary poets, he went for his materials to the common walks of life, and to the passing experiences of universal man. The trials and sorrows of the poor and the unfortunate were among his favorite themes. The hapless and despised sailor, the prisoner and the exile, "The Emigrant Mother," "The

Idiot Boy," — topics like these engaged his whole heart. Whether his poem were founded on "The Affections," "The Fancy," "The Imagination," or on "Sentiment and Reflection," no human being was too obscure or too degraded for his notice, and no created thing encountered his contempt. He is not ashamed to picture to us and ask our regard for the beggar, and to give us, not only his tattered habiliments and his meagre dialect, but the secrets of his heart, his inmost thought.

He takes also a Christian interest in every period of life. A legitimate successor of his spiritual master, you see him with that patriarchal form and benignant countenance calling to childhood, and pleading on its behalf. "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me." With a touching simplicity, which betokens a spirit that knew nothing of age, he exclaims: —

> "My heart leaps up when I behold
> A rainbow in the sky;
> So was it when my life began;
> So is it now I am a man.
> So let it be when I grow old,
> Or let me die."

This childlike temper kept him always in sympathy with the young; and it gushed forth in his blithe "Characteristics of a Child Three Years Old," and in his sweet "Address to my Infant Daughter." Happy parent! happy child! — we say it with tears of hope and of fear, as we read the bright lines, — may love and wisdom join with genius and fulfil the tender prayer!

But our poet did not rest in humanity; he ascended with a devout self-consecration to the Parent of all, and illumined the wide empire of his imagination with light taken from the altar of God. He was preëminently the poet of religion. At a period in which Byron, goaded by disappointed ambition to a fierce misanthropy and a scorn of all that is divine in heaven or on earth, was polluting not a few by a covert blasphemy, and when Shelley, embittered by the bigotry of the Church, and swayed by a gloomy temperament, was making poetry the vehicle of skepticism, Wordsworth employed his pen in a steady philosophic defence of religious truth. He stood forth to vindicate his own church from the assaults of

unbelief; and, what was far better, he infused into all his poetry the great principles and sentiments of the Church Universal. He came forward as an interpreter between God and man, vindicating the ways of Providence, showing that religion is the only true basis of happiness, the great spring of individual well-being, the chief bond of society, and the inspirer of public as of private intellectual and moral advancement.

He gives us in his poem on the "Obligations of Civil to Religious Liberty," an assurance of the instability and worthlessness of all patriotism except that which springs from religious principle. Having spoken of the sacrifice of Sidney and Russell in the cause of civil freedom, he adds: —

"But these had fallen for profitless regret,
Had not thy holy Church her champions bred,
And claims from other worlds inspirited
The star of Liberty to rise. Nor yet,
(Grave this within thy heart!) if spiritual things
Be lost, through apathy, or scorn, or fear,
Shalt thou thy humbler franchises support,
However hardly won or justly clear;
What came from Heaven to Heaven by nature clings,
And, if dissevered thence, its course is short."

Wherever he lifts the curtain of futurity, he justifies the ancient tie by which the bard and the seer were made one. Poetry is in him truly "the vision and faculty divine." He rises above the low office of the soothsayer, and is fired by the holiest inspirations of the prophet. If he anticipates any coming good, either for the child or the man, it is always linked with obedience to the law of Christ. Social progress, national stability, freedom, and prosperity, the great movements of civilization, and the elevation of his species, — he makes the hope of these depend essentially and unalterably upon the spread of Christianity. No scheme of human device, no combination of men who set aside the fear of God and a reverence for his revealed truth, no agency looking to earth alone for its power, can in his view compensate for or supersede pure and undefiled religion.

And while our poet thus exalted the religious element in his writings, he maintained a character pure like his

verse. His life did not present those sad inconsistencies which so often stand out between the author and his productions. He did not seem "half dust, half Deity, alike unfit to sink or soar." There was no attempt in him to blend the demon and the divine. He was not called, when he sat down to write, to go out of his own character, and be for the time transformed to an angel of light. Poets have been termed the *genus irritabile;* and their nervous susceptibility has too often been a fountain of moral evil. Not only have they been miserable themselves through ungoverned passion, but they have rendered their kindred, friends, and associates unhappy in their society. Wordsworth was exempt from this great source of temptation; he possessed the philosophic as well as the poetic temperament. Calm and equable by nature, he was led into a noble and dignified tranquillity by his mental habits. And these, again, were sustained by his religious faith and his strict moral purity. After the discipline of years, he appeared at last, in his serene old age, to use his own language, —

> "One by whom
> All effort seems forgotten; one to whom
> Long patience hath such mild composure given,
> That patience now doth seem a thing of which
> He hath no need."

It may be said, we are aware, that he owed his purity to the fact that he lived much in solitude, and was not tempted by evil. But who can doubt that the same tempter who led Jesus into the wilderness, and set him on a high mountain, that he might entice him to abjure his God and abandon his Divine mission to man, must have whispered evil into the ear of him who was meditating his holy work amid the solitudes of England's quiet lakes. Doubtless, like the rest of his race, with him who "was tempted in all points as we are" at their head, he felt the solicitations of sin. Let it be remembered that the student, and especially the poet, is peculiarly exposed to moral evil by his very habit of exercising the imagination in loneliness. It is therefore no light praise to testify, as we can of him, that, while another wrote loftily in many of his hours, and yet hated his kind so bitterly that he could say of himself in regard to them, —

"I stood
Among them, but not of them; in a shroud
Of thoughts which were not their thoughts," —

and referred to the world and himself as "foes," the poet we describe could reverse this language. For though *not* among men, he was "of them." He loved them, wrote for them, lived for them in his sequestered haunt. His virtue was the garniture of his verse; love found delight in his breast, and those who visited him in his retreat came away impressed with his social qualities, and his interest in man and society. By his pen and his lips he wedded truth and mercy; in him righteousness and peace were brought together, domesticated, so to speak, with genius and wisdom. And where the pen was pointed with a diamond from Heaven, the tongue also uttered oracles worthy of Zion's hill.

As a natural consequence of his personal worth, Wordsworth exerted a peculiar moral influence through his writings. They were not the effusions of a morbid self-consciousness; he did not cling so obstinately to his own idiosyncrasy as to make every great character he described the vehicle of his personal peculiarities. He threw himself out generously into the qualities and the condition of others. If he has little of the poetic frenzy, and does not rush often from earth to heaven and heaven to earth at one bound, yet he does what is not less to be praised in his art. With a true "liberation," he forgets himself, and becomes identified with truth, virtue, religion, and human well-being in all its manifold forms. We feel that it is good for us, for our moral nature no less than our mental, to dwell on his pages. He is full of a healthful sensibility, never sinking into mere sentimentalism. Our spirits are therefore braced in his presence; and we leave him stronger in faith, with new hopes for humanity, and quickened to fresh efforts for God and duty. We can say of him, what applies to few who have written so much, — that

"He wrote no line, which, dying, he would wish to blot."

The tendency of all his productions is to do good, — good to the mind, good to the reason and imagination, good to the heart and the life. You can give yourself up generally to his Muse, as you can with safety to very few

merely human guides. The exceptions to this remark — as, for example, his occasional sanction of the glories of war, and his advocacy of the forms of government and of church establishments unfriendly, as we think, to man's highest interests — are few. In the main, he writes on all topics from the Christian point of view; he disregards the false glare of a worldly splendor, and commends only that honor which cometh from above. If we sometimes disagree with him as to institutions and means for doing good, in his ends we heartily concur.

It is good to follow him, because of his conscious integrity and his fearless pursuit of the right. In his earlier years he encountered much obloquy; he drew on himself the abuses of many critics, and the disrespect of the public, by the peculiar character of his poetry. The world were not pleased that he took his themes from so humble objects, and manifested a sympathy with what they despised. But he heeded not their taunts; he felt himself to be right, and he clung steadily to the high path he had entered. Mark at this day the issue! A new age has come forward; the children have adopted his cause, and even the fathers, in many an instance, have at last sent in their adhesion to him. The poor and unfortunate have found friends all around them, and their old champion at length wins the poet's coronal. Freedom is the watchword of this age, and he who was among the foremost for the slave now finds troops of companions. They whose strains lauded the rich and the titled and the mighty alone are passing into a rapid oblivion; while he who set virtue above gold, and truth and love higher than thrones and dominations, lived to see his star in the ascendant.

And so it must be in all coming time. The poet who records the facts of our common life, who is true to nature and to man, cannot fail of ultimate success, nor yet of a final and general recognition. Truth and imagination are not, as was once thought, enemies; they are friends and allies. We are not to look on the poet as an idle dreamer, and pity his illusions; if gifted for his vocation, he is a seer of the truth. He penetrates into our inner being and sees us as we are, — sees us as the mere reasoner cannot. We may not, therefore, distrust the oracles of imagination, though they come not from ascending

into heaven or descending into the deep. If they utter the heart of our every-day experience, they are the oracles of God. Honor to that illustrious spirit who has forged such bright links between wisdom and truth and poetry, and blended the highest inspirations with the sober walks of this our mortal life!

Honor to the Christian poet, who has broken down the partition-wall between imagination and religion! Not in vain has he lived, who, dwelling apart from life's turmoil and conflicts, ministered an high-priest at the altar of that religion which accepts the sense of beauty as a gift of God, as in its true offices an all-sanctifying messenger to our race. We need, especially in this age of utilities and in this work-day world,—we need an eye to perceive the eternal "affinity between religion and poetry;—between religion, making up the deficiencies of reason by faith, and poetry, passionate for the instruction of reason;—between religion, whose element is infinitude and whose ultimate trust is the supreme of things, and poetry, ethereal and transcendent."

Honor, then, to the Christian poet! Thanks to him who has written out for us our truest thought, our holiest feeling! The man who leaves on record an immortal verse, to be a breakwater against the flesh and the world, to be a quickener to our faith and devotion, to lift us above the beaten round of this dusty world, to hold before us the true light where phantoms so often lure us astray, is among our noblest benefactors. To an elevated genius, when conjoined with a corresponding virtue, we owe unspeakable obligations. To him who in holy strains soothes our sorrows, and nerves us with a patient resignation to the will of the Highest,—to him who inspires us to a steadfast virtue, as by sacred numbers he draws aside, even though but for a moment, the thick veil which hangs between us and the spirit-land,—we owe a debt we cannot easily discharge, a debt we cannot perhaps comprehend, until, like him, we have passed within that veil.

It has been our purpose in this article simply to record our sense of the moral elevation of Wordsworth. We have not ventured on an analysis of his poetry in its literary aspects. Time will hang round his portrait ever-fresh chaplets of honor and beauty; we have but laid on

his tomb an early offering of Christian affection. It gives us great pleasure to learn that we shall soon receive, through his nephew and literary executor, the Rev. Henry Wordsworth, the entire poem of which fragments are given us in his works under the name of "The Recluse." We anticipate a rich treat of autobiography in this work. A. B. M.

Art. VIII. — THE DIVERSITY OF ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACES.

We have a right to consider the questions growing out of men's physical relations as merely scientific questions, and to investigate them without reference to either politics or religion.

There are two distinct questions involved in the subject which we have under discussion, — the Unity of Mankind, and the Diversity of Origin of the Human Races. These are two distinct questions, having almost no connection with each other, but they are constantly confounded as if they were but one.

We recognize the fact of the Unity of Mankind. It excites a feeling that raises men to the most elevated sense of their connection with each other. It is but the reflection of that Divine nature which pervades their whole being. It is because men feel thus related to each other, that they acknowledge those obligations of kindness and moral responsibility which rest upon them in their mutual relations. And it is because they have this innate feeling, that they are capable of joining in regular societies with all their social and domestic affinities. This feeling unites men from the most diversified regions. Do we cease to recognize this unity of mankind because we are not of the same family? — because we originate in various countries, and are born in America, England, Germany, France, Switzerland? Where the relationship of blood has ceased, do we cease to acknowledge that general bond which unites all men of every nation? By no means. This is a bond which every man feels more and more the farther he advances in

his intellectual and moral culture, and which in this development is continually placed upon higher and higher ground, — so much so, that the physical relation arising from a common descent is finally entirely lost sight of in the consciousness of the higher moral obligations. It is this consciousness which constitutes the true unity of mankind.

But we know so little respecting the origin of that first human pair to which the white race is distinctly referred, that, even if it were possible to show that all men originated from that one pair, the naturalist would still be required to exert himself to throw more light upon the process by which they were created, in the same manner as geologists have done respecting the formations and changes in the physical condition of our globe. We know so little respecting the first appearance of organized beings in general, that, even if there were no questions with regard to the origin of men, we might still inquire into the method of the origin of that first human pair, who have been considered as the acknowledged source whence all mankind have sprung, though it may be that they were not the only source.

Such an investigation into the ways of nature, into the ways of the Creator, and into the circumstances under which organized beings were created, is a question wholly disconnected with religion, belonging entirely to the department of natural history. But, at the same time, we deny that, in the view which we take of these questions, there is any thing contradicting the records in Genesis. Whatever is said there can be best explained by referring it to the historical races.* We have no statements relating to the origin of the inhabitants now found in those parts of the world which were unknown to the ancients.

Do we find in any part of the Scriptures any reference to the inhabitants of the arctic zone, of Japan, of China, of New Holland, or of America? Now, as philosophers,

* In speaking of the historical and the non-historical races, we do not mean to say that the nations of the white race only have historical records, and that these records alone are highly valuable, for we know that the history of the Chinese extends far back, and how full their records are. We only intend, in making this distinction, to refer to the history in Genesis, in which the branches of the white race only are alluded to, and nowhere the colored races as such.

we ask, Whence did these nations come? And if we should find as an answer, that they were not related to Adam and Eve, and that they have an independent origin, and if this should be substantiated by physical evidence, would there be any thing to conflict with the statements in Genesis? We have no narrative of the manner in which these parts of the world were peopled. We say, therefore, that, as far as the investigation will cover that ground, it has nothing to do with Genesis. We meet all objections at once, we dare to look them in the face; for there is no impropriety in considering all the possible meanings of the Scriptures, and nobody can object to such a course except those whose religion consists in a blind adoration of their own construction of the Bible.

It has been charged upon the views here advanced, that they tend to the support of slavery, as if the question in its most extensive bearing did not involve the origin of the Chinese, of the Malays, and of the Indians, as well as that of the negro race. If the question of slavery had ever been connected with the colored races of Asia and America, we would acknowledge that these views have some bearing upon that subject. But is it really so? Is that a fair objection to a philosophical investigation? Here we have to do only with the question of the origin of men; let the politicians, let those who feel themselves called upon to regulate human society, see what they can do with the results. It is for us to examine into the characters of different races, to ascertain their physical peculiarities, their natural developments. And we do nothing more than has already been attempted long ago, when authors have designed to characterize nations. Because the French differ in many respects from the English, the Greeks, the Italians, etc., and because we see in these nations different turns of mind, does it follow that the particular degree of civilization attained by one is also the best that others could enjoy, and the best that could be introduced into their social condition?

We disclaim, however, all connection with any question involving political matters. It is simply with reference to the possibility of appreciating the differences existing between different men, and of eventually determin-

ing whether they have originated all over the world, and under what circumstances, that we have here tried to trace some facts respecting the human races, and the animal kingdom, in all their different classes.

We began by stating that the subject of unity and plurality of races involves two distinct questions, the question of the essential unity of mankind, and the question of the origin of men upon our globe. There is another view involved in this second question, which we would not dismiss without a few remarks.

Are men, even if the diversity of their origin is established, to be considered as all belonging to one species, or are we to conclude that there are several different species among them? The writer has been in this respect strangely misrepresented. Because he has at one time said that mankind constitutes one species, and at another time has said that men did not originate from one common stock, he has been represented as contradicting himself, as stating at one time one thing, and at another time another. He would therefore insist upon this distinction, that the unity of species does not involve a unity of origin, and that a diversity of origin does not involve a plurality of species. Moreover, what we should now consider as the characteristic of species is something very different from what has formerly been so considered. As soon as it was ascertained that animals differ so widely, it was found that what constitutes a species in certain types is something very different from what constitutes a species in other types, and that facts which prove an identity of species in some animals do not prove an identity or plurality in another group.

It is well known that the horse and ass produce mules, though they constitute distinct species; again, it may be shown that certain polyps produce jelly-fishes, though they never pair with each other, and that they nevertheless belong to the same species; but such facts would not constitute an evidence of unity or diversity in other groups of the animal kingdom. It would lead us too far into technical details to quote many more similar examples, which would show equally well the fallacy of conclusions derived from different quarters; but, on the other hand, we must insist upon the inestimable value of the inductions derived from facts of the same order, and nat-

uralists will evince their competency to discuss these questions by keeping within their legitimate ground. We must, however, give some details with reference to the limitation of the characteristics of species, as it has a direct bearing upon the investigation of the origin of organized beings in general.

There are animals in which the dualism which so universally pervades the higher classes in the opposition between the sexes is not introduced, and in which all the individuals have, morphologically and functionally, the same identical structure. Here the characteristics of species must be very different from what they are among those animals in which we recognize males and females.

There are other groups in which this peculiar combination of sexes presents very different proportions. We have among the higher animals about an equal number of individuals belonging to the two sexes. But in some of the classes, for instance, among insects, we have species in which the normal condition consists in a combination of one female, generally called the queen, with several males, and large numbers of individuals destitute of sex. Now this combination is there the normal combination, and the idea of species in such types must be derived from the knowledge that this combination is a normal one, and that therefore the proportion of individuals is to be considered as one of the characteristics of the species in some classes; but at the same time we must remember that these combinations are very different in other classes.

There are many trees and plants in which a single stalk represents the whole species; there are those in which we never see detached and distinct individuals, but in which a number of individuals are constantly combined in one community, leading a common life, such as the corals. There the idea of species is very different from that which we form when considering the higher animals in general.

But it is not only in this respect that we frequently find a difference in the combinations of individuals in different species. We find also peculiar adaptations in the mode of association of species with each other. There are species which everywhere occur in shoals, in numerous herds. A life in large communities is the characteristic that distinguishes them from others.

Others live in solitude, and in the case of some of them even the males meet with the females only at particular seasons of the year. Such bachelors among animals may be found associating constantly with herds of other animals; or herds of different species may meet regularly and live a life in common, as the starlings and cattle. There are others in which all the individuals that have originated in one season remain in a shoal together for the first year, and afterwards separate; others continue to live in large communities. For these, the principle of individuals living in communities is one of the characteristics of the species. We never consider herring as living otherwise than in shoals. We never think of bees as living otherwise than in swarms, or of pines otherwise than in forests. Such an association of individuals is characteristic both in animals and plants; there are social plants as well as social animals. The regular number of individuals which are brought together in ordinary circumstances is one of the peculiar natural characteristics of such species. It will at once be seen what is the bearing of these facts; they have reference to the question of the proportion of individuals originating in all the different species,—whether they were created in pairs, or whether they were created in larger numbers; upon one spot, or over a wider area.

But for all those animals which have a wider range it is a further question whether their distribution, as it is at present, can be referred to migrations or not; whether the field which they cover is a field which they might cover by spreading from a common centre.

One circumstance of importance in this investigation is the influence which external circumstances have upon the natural character of organized beings. The question of the plurality or unity of the human races involves also the question of the limits of those influences,—of physical causes which may act upon organized beings after their creation.

We have here to inquire what are the limits within which we know that organized beings have been modified by physical circumstances, after they had been once placed upon the surface of our globe.

As we have no tradition upon these questions, we can only argue from probabilities, from what we see at pres-

ent, from the nature of those beings now living, and the persistency of their characters as they are observed in our days, and refer to the few instances in which a direct comparison of organized beings at different periods has been possible. We allude to those animals preserved from very ancient times. The monuments of Egypt have fortunately yielded skeletons of animals that lived several thousand years ago; from the same source seeds of plants have been obtained, that have been made to germinate and grow; and from the most minute and careful comparisons of these animals and plants of ancient days with those of the same species now living in the same countries, it has been found that there is no difference between them, — that they agree precisely in all particulars as perfectly as the different individuals of the species now living agree together. So that we have in this fact, which has been fully investigated by Cuvier in his researches upon fossils, full evidence that time does not alter organized beings. A further consideration of this subject would include details too extensive for the present occasion. We return, therefore, to the human races.

Having made the distinction between the questions of the unity of mankind and of the origin of men, — of the different races of men, — it is now a matter of great importance to show that these two questions are really distinct questions, entirely independent of each other, and also to show what are the peculiarities of man constituting, physically, intellectually, and morally, that unity which is recognized among all men, even though their unity of origin be denied.

The more general proposition can be very well sustained by the evidence derived from a special case, where men of the same nation, — individuals whose studies, whose calling in life, have developed in them the same faculties, the same feelings, — being brought closely together, relations spring up between them so intimate, as by far to outweigh the natural bonds which a common parentage may establish between men. Such individuals do not feel themselves to be near each other, do not sympathize in their aspirations, do not join in the same purposes, because they are brothers, because they belong to the same family, because they are of the same

nation, but because they feel that they are men, and that the natural dispositions wherewith they are endowed as men are developed in them in a similar manner, and with reference to the same great human interests. Is there any one who would consider the ties between two such individuals on that intellectual and moral ground as lessened because they may not be physically related at all? or who would consider the differences in their physical features as an objection to their being more intimately connected than other men who in features resemble them more, or are related to them more closely, perhaps, by the nearest ties of blood? We can therefore take it as a matter of fact, that, as we find men actually living together in the world, it is not the physical relation which establishes the closest connection between them, but that higher relation arising from the intellectual constitution of man. How this higher character of man is preserved in a succession of men, generation after generation, is one of the mysteries which physiology has not yet unfolded; but we have in animals instances enough showing that living beings, for which a community of origin has never been claimed, present the same close relation in their constitution and natural disposition as we observe between the different races of men; so that there is no necessity for assuming that the foundation for this intercourse between men who are not related by the ties of kindred is to be looked for in that primitive unity which is supposed to arise from a common descent. We would mention some examples to show how extensively this is the case among lower creatures.

Let us consider, for instance, the beasts of prey. They all agree in the peculiar form of their teeth and claws, which are adapted to seize upon their prey; their alimentary canal is so constructed as to fit it best for digesting animal food; their dispositions are savage, unsocial; and so universal are these characteristics, both in their physical constitution and in their natural disposition, as clearly to show that they constitute a natural unity in the creation, entirely disconnected both in structure and natural dispositions with any other division of the animal kingdom, such as the Monkeys, or the Ruminants, or the Rodents. But because they agree so closely in all these prominent features, has any one ever thought that the

wolf, tiger, and bear originated from a common stock, and that their resemblance was owing to this common origin? Have we not here, on the contrary, the plainest evidence, that, with the most distinct origin, without even the possibility of a mixture among such races, they exhibit a closer resemblance, and dispositions more alike, than the different races of men? We may go farther to show that a common character by no means proves common descent or parentage in the least degree, by comparing the different species of that so large genus, the cats, in which the wild-cat, the panther, the leopard, tiger, lion, and all the numerous species of this group, having such similar habits, such similar natural dispositions, with the same structure, were yet constituted as so many distinct species, unconnected in their genealogy.

The same evidence might be drawn from thousands of natural groups, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. We need only compare the different species of deer, moose, and elk in the different parts of the world, or the buffalo with the wild bulls of the Old World, to know that this law of unity among larger and smaller groups, where there is the most complete independence of origin, prevails throughout nature. Who does not recognize *primâ facie* that the canoe-birch, white-birch, sweet-birch, and yellow-birch are trees of the same stamp, though they do not pass one into the other, do not mingle, producing, nevertheless, similar fruit? Is this not true, also, of all the oaks, of all the pines, and is the unity stamped upon them all less obvious, less important, less conspicuous, because none of these plants, none of the animals mentioned above, can be referred to a common stock? These examples will be sufficient to show that the closest unity, the most intimate unity, may exist without a common origin, without a common descent, without that relationship which is often denoted by the expression "ties of blood." And, on the other hand, that these ties of blood may exist without necessarily calling forth the higher connections which may be found between individuals of the same type, is, alas! too plainly shown by the history of mankind. The immediate conclusion from these facts, however, is the distinction we have made above, that to acknowledge a unity in mankind,

to show that such a unity exists, is not to admit that men have a common origin, nor to grant that such a conclusion may be justly derived from such premises. We maintain, therefore, that the unity of mankind does not imply a community of origin for men; we believe, on the contrary, that a higher view of this unity of mankind can be taken than that which is derived from a mere sensual connection, — that we need not search for the highest bond of humanity in a mere animal function, whereby we are most closely related to the brutes.

In the first place, all races of men exhibit strongly those physical features which characterize man when compared with animals, even with those highest monkey tribes which in physical development come nearest to the human frame. Man is constructed to stand upright, upon two feet, with two free hands subservient to his intellectual powers, with his head erect upon an upright vertebral column, capable of moving in all directions. This erect position, this particular connection between head and trunk, the development of the arm and hand, adapted to purposes so different from those of the foot, constitute in the physical organization of man the most prominent peculiarities, which are as strongly marked in the inhabitant of Van Diemen's Land or King George's Inlet as in the noblest individuals of the white race; — features which do not occur in monkeys, for they have four hands and not two feet and two hands; and they are incapable of assuming that upright standing position which frees the arm and makes it the willing organ of the higher impulses emanating from the head. Monkeys have hands, it is true, but they have four hands, and the upper hands are still in the service of the body, — they are not yet emancipated from that bondage to the flesh, not yet set free for the higher service of the spirit.

The comparisons made between monkeys and men by comparative anatomists, when tracing the gradations in nature, have been greatly misunderstood by those who have concluded that, because there were no other types between the highest monkeys and men, these highest monkeys were something intermediate between men and beasts; or that some race particularly disagreeable to those writers was something intermediate between monkeys and human beings. These links between

mankind and the animal creation are only the great steps indicating the gradation established by the Creator among living beings, and they no more indicate a relation between men and monkeys, than between monkeys and beasts of prey, or between these and the ox, or between the ox and the whale. Such misrepresentations of the comparisons made by naturalists have arisen from a misunderstanding of their propositions, or from the mistakes rendered possible by the words used, which, of course, should have been taken in a modified sense when applied to a new thought, but which, instead of this, have been translated back into their common meaning, by men utterly ignorant of the object and aim of such comparisons.

Having once vindicated for all races of men such a community of physical constitution, such a unity of type, such an essential difference from the character of even the highest animals, we hardly need allude further to those most prominent, more elevating, more dignifying distinctions which belong to man, as an intellectual and moral being; and we would gladly be silent upon this side of the question, did we not feel that it would be giving up the better part of our nature not to claim that peculiar characteristic of mankind, those intellectual and moral qualities which are so eminently developed in civilized society, but which equally exist in the natural dispositions of all human races, constituting the higher unity among men, making them all equal before God, because all of them have been created in his image, inasmuch as they have a spark of that divine light which elevates man above the present, and enables him to look forward in the future towards eternity, to remember the past, to record his destinies, and to be taught how to improve himself, and to be led in these improvements by motives of a higher, of a purely moral character.

Such is the foundation of a unity between men truly worthy of their nature, such is the foundation of those sympathies which will enable them to bestow upon each other, in all parts of the world, the name of brethren, as they are brethren in God, brethren in humanity, though their origin, to say the least, is lost in the darkness of the beginning of the world.

If space permitted, we would also consider here the

laws which regulate the geographical distribution of organized beings, with reference to the question of unity of the human races. But we may in this respect refer to a former article, and merely mention now that this distribution is regulated according to a plan; and that there is an intention in the manner in which animals and plants are distributed all over the globe. We would only quote a few examples to show how plainly in the distribution of the human races, and in almost all natural groups of animals and plants, the same laws obtain. Along the Arctics we have animals which are identical in Asia, Europe, and North America. There is no specific difference between the Mammalia, birds, fishes, and other lower animals, occurring around the northern pole for some distance. We may state that their limits are circumscribed beyond the limits of the natural growth of trees.

Farther south there begins to be a marked difference, and this increases as we proceed towards the tropics. But this difference does not increase in such a manner as to introduce a uniformity between America and Europe, or between Europe and Asia, but it is of such a nature that the animals and plants represent each other in these different continents. Where we have a fox in Europe there is another kind of fox in North America, and another in Asia and Turan; so also the wolves of Europe, of Southern Siberia, and of the prairies of America, are different. Within these limits we have representative species, but linked together by a degree of resemblance so great as easily to cause mistakes by those who are not accustomed to distinguish organized beings, and for a long time the wolves and foxes and bears, and other large animals of America, which have such representative species in other parts of the world, were taken by the first white inhabitants from Europe as identical with corresponding species of Europe; and so with Asia, etc. But the differences are such as really to show that these types merely correspond to each other, and are not identical.

Farther south we find the differences increase, and the corresponding types agree only in a more general manner. They are no longer representative species in the same genus, but representative genera in the same

family; so that in the same families we see only distant relations between those types which occur in the tropics, even where the representative species of the temperate zone are closely related.

But what is most important is, that this increased difference does not correspond merely to what we may call climate, or to those physical differences which influence animals and plants. The differences are such as may appear to careful observers almost unconnected with climate, inasmuch as in the same climate, in the tropical regions, for instance, we have animals and plants in New Holland entirely different from those that occur in Africa and South America. This is the more obvious, as the climatic conditions are far more similar in the southern hemisphere than in the northern, where, nevertheless, representative species occur in the different parts of the world. In this geographical distribution there is, therefore, evidence of a plan carried out almost independently of the climate. There is evidence of a design ruling the climatic conditions themselves; for animals and plants are not distributed at random, or simply according to physical circumstances, but their arrangement reveals a superior order, established from higher and considerate views, by an intelligent Creator.

Now, if we follow in the same manner the races of men upon the surface of our globe, we find a similar definite location. We will not for the present consider any of those tribes that are known to have migrated from their primitive seats, nor any of those we may fairly call historical nations; but only those races respecting which we have no records, and which we are left to study simply from their physical conditions, as we have no direct information respecting their introduction into the parts of the world they now occupy.

The object of the writer in not beginning this investigation with the historical races is to avoid the difficulty of conflicting evidence respecting their migrations. The light thrown by tradition and revelation upon the first settlement of several stems of the white race, moreover, does not completely cover the question of their origin; for though there are records respecting the distribution of several branches of the family of Noah, we have nowhere any data respecting the origin of the primitive inhabit-

ants of the countries to which they migrated. In order to avoid, therefore, the perplexity of mixing historical evidence with data derived from the study of the human races themselves, it is advisable, for the present, to confine ourselves more especially to the consideration of the non-historical races, and to consider chiefly the natural connections observed between these races and the countries they inhabit, in order to ascertain whether there is any indication in their peculiarities showing that they may be referred to the influence of climate, or diversity of food, or difference in habit and mode of life. For if it can be shown that the peculiarities of these races in their present distribution, as far as historical documents respecting them may go, have no reference to climate or physical influences, and do not fall within the range of the changes produced by such influences, as far as they can be ascertained, this circumstance would afford a further argument in support of the view that the non-historical races are really not connected with the historical races, and that this want of connection is not owing to a want of information, but to a real, natural, primitive disconnection.

Now these races, with all their diversity, may be traced through parts of the world which, in a physical point of view, are most similar, and similar branches occur over tracts of land the physical constitution of which differs to the utmost; a fact constituting at once an insuperable obstacle to our ascribing these differences to changes introduced during or after the migrations of a primitively homogeneous stock, and produced by climatic influences. A more minute investigation of these facts will more fully sustain this view.

The white race in its different branches has spread over the broadest area. It has covered, not only Europe and the northern part of Africa, including the valley of the Nile and all the region north of the Atlas, but also Arabia, Persia, and a part of India. It has encroached upon Tartary, and has extended as far as the arctic circle in Europe. At a later period it has established itself beyond the oceans, in the New World, at the Cape of Good Hope, in the East Indies, in the Sunda Islands, in New Holland, in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and upon the southern and eastern borders of the continent of Asia.

But within this range the different nations which have succeeded each other in the course of time, even where they have assumed new peculiarities in consequence of their mixture in these new homes, have never differed more than the various families of the other races differ within their respective limits. The Arabs and Persians, the Berbers and Jews, the Germans and Greeks, the Italians and French, the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Swedes and Normans, the Dutch and Danes, the Russians and Turks, the Anglo-Saxons and Irish, and their descendants in the Transatlantic colonies, have presented at all times the same physical characteristics, and have resembled each other within the same limits within which we find the different tribes of negroes to resemble each other. The differences between the Senegal negro and the negro of Mozambique, or between the negro of Congo and the negro of Caffraria, are as great, and perhaps even greater, than the differences existing between the different nations of the white race.

But taking them together as types, as races, we find that the differences characterizing them are of a very different order from the differences existing between the several nations within the limits of each race. The monuments of Egypt teach us that five thousand years ago the negroes were as different from the white race as they are now,* and that, therefore, neither time nor climate nor change of habitation has produced the differences we observe between the races, and that to assume them to be of the same order, and to assert their common origin, is to assume and to assert what has no historical or physiological or physical foundation.

Let us, however, now return more specially to the geographical distribution of the human races, and begin with Asia. There, within the arctic district, we have the race of Samoyedes, who are small, short men, with a round, broad face, and thick lips, but whose eyes, or rather the openings of their orbits, are narrow, though neither

* One almost blushes to state that the fathers of the Church in Northern Africa have even recently been quoted as evidence of the high intellectual and moral development of which the negro race is supposed to be capable, and that the monuments of Egypt have also been referred to with the same view. But, we ask, have men who do not know that Egypt and Northern Africa have never been inhabited by negro tribes, but always by nations of the Caucasian race, any right to express an opinion on this question?

oblique nor very elongated, as is the case among the Chinese. A very similar type, that of the Laplanders, occurs in Northern Europe. The Esquimaux on this continent present the same general features. But if we go farther south, as far as Japan, for instance, we have another race in which the features already present marked differences, a race almost intermediate between the Chinese and the inhabitants of Kamtschatka. The Chinese themselves have those very prominent cheeks, that pale-yellowish color, and those very oblique, narrow fissures of the eyes, which are so characteristic of that race of men generally known under the name of the Mongolian type. But it is very important to take into consideration, that northwards, between the Mongolian and the arctic nations, we have intermediate types, in South-eastern Siberia. Again, if we pass from China into Indo-China and the Sunda Islands, or from the high plateaus of Asia into the Malayan peninsula, we meet another race, the Malays, who have some resemblance to the Chinese in their color, but differ from them in many respects, especially in the regularity of their face, and what we may call their beautiful Caucasian features. Towards the primitive seat of the white race, the Mongolians assume another appearance; they resemble somewhat the Caucasian type. But towards Indo-China we have also a transition from the Malayan type into the Caucasian, as we have from the Mongolian type into the Caucasian farther North.

All over Africa we have but one type, or rather we generally consider the Africans as one, because they are chiefly black. But if we take the trouble to compare their different tribes, we shall observe that there are as great differences between them as between the inhabitants of Asia. The negro of Senegal differs as much from the negro of Mozambique as he differs from the negro of Congo or of Guinea. The writer has of late devoted special attention to this subject, and has examined closely many native Africans belonging to different tribes, and has learned readily to distinguish their nations, without being told whence they came; and even when they attempted to deceive him, he could determine their origin from their physical features.

Among the negroes there are the same feelings of infe-

riority and superiority that exist among other nations. There are some tribes who consider themselves, and are generally regarded, as superior to others; and individuals who, knowing that their tribe is held in low estimation by others, take good care to assume a higher standing when asked about their origin. But in such cases, where deception would defeat the object of the investigation, it is not very difficult to ascertain the truth. After having learned from them the names for a dog, a fish, etc., in their native language, which you may know from sources to be relied upon, if you ask them to what tribe they belong, you can easily ascertain whether their answer respecting their origin is true. Now these differences are so great as to indicate among negroes in various parts of Africa the same diversity that exists among the inhabitants of Asia. And if we compare the inhabitants of the southern extremity of Africa with negroes, we find still greater and more prominent differences in the race of the Hottentots, whose peculiarities are sufficiently well known to require no particular illustration. We will, therefore, abstain from any further details, in order not to extend these remarks beyond the limits of general statements, and would only add one fact respecting the American Indians; as this race presents a most remarkable feature in the point of view under consideration. It has been satisfactorily established that over the whole continent of America south of the arctic zone (which is inhabited by Esquimaux), all the numerous tribes of Indians have the same physical character; that they belong to the same race, from north to south, and that the primitive inhabitants of central tropical America do not physically differ from the primitive inhabitants of the more northern or southern regions. In this case we have the greatest uniformity in the character of the tribes of an entire continent, under the most different climatic influences. But in their physical peculiarities these tribes differ as well from the Africans as from the Asiatic tribes* and the inhabitants of New Holland.

Now, if men originated from a common centre, and

* In this general remark, the isolated cases of Mongolians stranded on the western shores of America, as far as they are well authenticated, are of course excepted.

spread over the world from that centre, their present differences must be owing to influences arising out of peculiarities of climate and mode of life. And these influences must have acted upon them during or after their migration, and, if such changes have really taken place, must correspond to each other in different parts of the world, in proportion as the physical conditions are more or less similar.

Compare now the inhabitants of China with those of the corresponding parts of Africa and America; compare especially with each other the inhabitants of the southern extremities of Africa, America, and New Holland, regions which are, physically speaking, under most circumstances alike, and we shall find the greatest differences between them. This fact will at once appear as the strongest objection to the idea that the differences between these races arose from changes that took place after they were introduced into the regions they inhabit; especially when it is found that, among all races, the Fuegians, Hottentots, and inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land are the tribes which differ most from each other. We find similar constant differences within corresponding parts of the same continents in the torrid zone. In Africa we have the negro race, with its peculiar features, in Polynesia the Papuan race, and in America the common Indian, though the climate in these three parts of the world does not differ essentially. Again, in the temperate zone, we have in the Old World Mongolians and Caucasians, and Indians in America, — races which do not resemble each other, but yet live under the most similar circumstances.

We can see but one conclusion to be drawn from these facts, that these races cannot have assumed their peculiar features after they had migrated into these countries from a supposed common centre. We must, therefore, seek another explanation. We would, however, first remind the reader of the fact, that these are not historical races, that there are not even traditions respecting their origin to guide us in the investigation, that some of the most different races are placed in parts of the world most similar in physical circumstances, and that we are, therefore, left entirely to ourselves to unravel the mystery of their origin by the light induction may afford us. Under such

circumstances, we would ask if we are not entitled to conclude that these races must have originated where they occur, as well as the animals and plants inhabiting the same countries, and have originated there in the same numerical proportions, and over the same area, in which they now occur; for these conditions are the conditions necessary to their maintenance, and what among organized beings is essential to their temporal existence must be at least one of the conditions under which they were created.

We maintain, that, like all other organized beings, mankind cannot have originated in single individuals, but must have been created in that numeric harmony which is characteristic of each species; men must have originated in nations, as the bees have originated in swarms, and as the different social plants have at first covered the extensive tracts over which they naturally spread. The manner in which the different races of men are united, where they border upon each other, shows this plainly; and we have many analogous facts in the varieties we observe among well-known animals. We would mention as an example the wolf, which is found all over Europe. This animal has a very soft thick fur in the North, and a whitish color; it is grayish in Central Europe, while farther south, in Italy, Spain, and Greece, it has a fawn-color. Now these different varieties are constant in the different districts in which we find that species.

There are large numbers of animals and plants, especially among the higher classes, which are known to present differences similar to those alluded to above, in the case of the wolf, and with respect to which it has been a question among naturalists, whether they constitute distinct species, or should be considered simply as varieties of one and the same type. We may mention the fox of Northern and Southern Europe as another example, or the different varieties of deer, or, among plants, the dwarf stems of various species of trees, occurring simultaneously in lower and higher latitudes, or rising at different levels above the surface of the sea. Naturalists, who have been satisfied of the intimate connection which, from station to station, may be traced between the extremes of such forms, have been unwilling to consider them as species, and have generally described them as

varieties; and whenever they have been very particular in distinguishing all the forms occurring under different circumstances, they have described them as *climatic* varieties; assuming, perhaps, that these differences were owing to the influence of climate. But there are others who consider these so-called climatic varieties as simply differing according to the climate under which they live, without assuming that the climate is the cause of the differences observed. But those not familiar with these nice distinctions, admitting, probably, that the name indicates the thing, have gone much beyond the evidence in this case, and have taken it decidedly for granted, that such differences were produced by climatic influences, and going farther upon this assumption, have also asserted that, within the widest range, climate is producing changes upon organized beings; an assertion which, at present, can be verified only to a very limited degree among domesticated animals. However, it cannot truly be said that the climate is the chief cause of the modifications which have been produced in our races of domestic animals after their transportation into countries differing in climate from those in which they originated. For here, again, if these varieties are to be ascribed to climate, we would ask why, under similar climates, we find different varieties of the same species, — why the cattle in some Swiss cantons differ so much from those of other cantons, — why the sheep of England differ so much from those of corresponding parts of the continent of Europe, — why the Durham breed continues in the United States with all its peculiarities. The intelligent influence of man himself, the object he seeks in the education of domesticated animals, the constant care bestowed by him upon them, have far more to do with the production and preservation of all these varieties than any influence of physical causes, acting independently of his intelligent agency. There is, therefore, up to the present day, no conclusive evidence whatsoever, to show that the so-called climatic varieties have been produced by physical influences.

But the moment it is granted that animals may have been created in those constant numeric proportions which characterize each species in the economy of nature, all over the natural area they cover, there is no farther dif-

ficulty in understanding how the wolf of Northern Europe may have primitively differed from the wolf of the central or southern parts of that continent; how fishes placed in Northern Europe, in the British Islands, in the Alps, the Apennines, and the Pyrenees, in waters of a similar character and temperature, can have been introduced primitively in entirely unconnected localities, and present the same identical features, the same specific character, and truly belong to the same species, though they did not originate from the same stock; while other animals, extending over large areas, the climate of which differs in various ways, may present so-called climatic varieties, (without having been changed from a primitive stock, more or less different from what they are now,) having originated under these different circumstances, with all their peculiarities.

But if all these things are really so, we must not wonder that men inquiring into this subject should entertain such different views respecting them, and that their views should disagree in proportion as their investigations have been more or less limited. Those who have only known the differences called climatic differences, existing between some Mammalia and birds, which occur simultaneously in different latitudes, may well have assumed that such differences have been produced by changes introduced in the course of time; but whenever cases like that of the trout are taken into consideration at the same time, (and we might have extended our examples to many other animals, such as the marmot, the lynx, the chamois, which live in independent unconnected mountain groups,) the case assumes a very different aspect, and it becomes at once plain that one and the same animal must be considered as having originated, even without the slightest specific distinction, simultaneously at great distances, in different parts of the same continent, or even in different continents, as in the case of the arctic animals, or that they may belong to the same species, even if they differ so widely as many so-called climatic varieties. To assume that the geographical distribution of such animals, inhabiting zoölogical districts entirely disconnected with each other, is to be ascribed to physical causes, that these animals have been transported, and, especially, that the fishes which live in

different fresh-water basins have been transported from place to place, — to suppose that perches, pickerels, trouts, and so many other species found in almost every brook and every river in the temperate zone, have been transported from one basin into another, by freshets, or by water-birds, — is to assume very inadequate and accidental causes for general phenomena. And whoever has studied minutely the special distribution of those fishes in different waters will know that there are natural combinations between these species indicating a plan, a design, a natural affinity between the fishes living together, which could neither be the result of accident, nor be produced by the occasional transportation of eggs from one point to another by water-birds.

Moreover, these fishes are found in places so far remote from each other, that, even granting that in some instances fishes may have been transported from one neighbouring pond to another within short distances, this will never account for the simultaneous occurrence of these identical species, which are found living at great distances from each other, and without intermediate stations. And as for the migration of slow-moving reptiles, such as salamanders and toads, or snakes and vipers, it is out of the question. It is really ludicrous to see with what gravity a few instances of migration of fishes by means of freshets, or of fish-eggs asserted to have been transported by birds, are related as answering these difficulties, as if there were no order, no adaptation, no evidence of a plan, in the distribution of these animals, as they occur in the waters they inhabit, and as if mere chance could have produced the wonderful order which nature exhibits.

For further evidence respecting the normal combination of faunæ in fresh-water basins, we would refer to some remarks made by the writer upon the fishes of Lake Superior.

Did the wolf originate in Sweden, with its silky fur, or in Germany, with its gray color, or in the southern part of Europe, with its smooth hair? Here we might leave it entirely doubtful as a question of no importance; but when we find that animals circumscribed in their habitation, that animals living, for instance, in different fresh-water basins, agree in every particular, though

their abodes are entirely unconnected, and seem never to have afforded the means of communication, — when we observe the brook-trouts which are found in the Pyrenees, in the Alps, in the Apennines, in Norway, Sweden, and the British Islands, do not present the slightest differences, — then we are led to the supposition that these animals arose simultaneously in different regions; that the same species may have been created in many unconnected localities at the same time; and that a species, like the wolf, may have originated all over the district it covers. And if this is once established, why should we not also consider the different human races as having originated all over the districts which they occupy, when they have always shown the same transition from one race to the other within those parts of the world where we know there have not been such extensive migrations as among the white race?

But even in the more civilized parts of the world we have evidence of primitive races, extending everywhere, in the fact that, wherever men have migrated, the migrating people meet aboriginal nations, and are brought everywhere into collision with men already existing in those parts of the world to which they emigrate. We have nowhere a positive record of a people having migrated far, and found countries entirely destitute of inhabitants. This fact would, therefore, be additional evidence of the primitive ubiquity of mankind upon earth.

It is a strange mistake, into which men fall very easily whenever they embark in the investigation of complicated questions, to assume, as soon as they have discovered a law, that that law is the only one to which the phenomena under examination are subject, and to give up any further inquiry, in full confidence that there is nothing more to be found as soon as a satisfactory view of the subject has been obtained. We have seen what important, what prominent reasons there are for us to acknowledge the unity of mankind. But this unity does not exclude diversity. Diversity is the complement of all unity; for unity does not mean oneness, or singleness, but a plurality in which there are many points of resemblance, of agreement, of identity. This diversity in unity is the fundamental law of nature. It can be traced through all the departments of nature, — in the

largest divisions which we acknowledge among natural phenomena, as well as in those which are circumscribed within the most narrow limits. It is even the law of development of the individuals belonging to the same species. And this diversity in unity becomes gradually more and more prominent throughout organized beings, as we rise from their lowest to their highest forms.

At first, when looking at a cornfield, all the individual stalks seem identical; but let us look more attentively, and we shall see that one has a more or less vigorous growth than another; that the spikes are fewer or more numerous; that in each spike the grains are more or less crowded, larger or smaller. The trees in an oak or pine forest seem at first all alike, the elms in an avenue identical; but who can say that he ever saw two trees perfectly alike, — that there ever were in an orchard two apple-trees or two peach-trees bearing the same number of fruit? or who ever found in a flock of sheep such an identity of specimens as to make it impossible to recognize them individually? Is it not a fact, that the shepherd knows every one by itself, and singles out any one in the whole flock without difficulty, — though this may be difficult at first for the unpractised observer? And has it ever occurred to any man to expect to meet his identical image in every respect among his fellow-men? Is it not plain, on the contrary, that the diversities we notice in the greater divisions of both the vegetable and animal kingdoms are carried out in successively narrower and narrower limits, down to the peculiarities of each species, and even of each individual in each species? This law of diversity, therefore, must be investigated as fully, as minutely, and as conscientiously, as the law of unity which pervades the whole. It is not enough to know that all animals agree in certain characters, wherein they differ from plants; that all radiated animals have peculiarities which distinguish them from Mollusca, Articulata, and Vertebrata; that each class in these great divisions has, again, common characters not observed in the others, by which all these groups constitute natural unities. It is not enough to recognize the unity in the different families and genera of the animal and vegetable kingdom; it is not enough to ascertain the close relation existing between the individuals of

each species. The naturalist, who aims at a correct and complete understanding of his subject, will investigate with equal devotion the law of diversity which keeps them apart, which constitutes their differences, however minute they may be; and in doing so he will understand better both the law of unity and that of diversity in their mutual relations.

The question is, whether the diversity is primitive or secondary; whether it was introduced at the beginning, when organized beings were first created, or whether it has been produced by subsequent influences, from various causes acting upon them after their creation.

The question with reference to the races of men is this: — Have the differences which we notice among the different races, as they exist now, been produced in the course of the multiplication and diffusion of men upon the earth, or are these differences primitive, independent of physical causes? Have they been introduced into the human race by the Creator himself, or has nature influenced men so much as to produce this diversity, under the influence of those causes which act in the physical world?

Those who contend for the unity of the human race, on the ground of a common descent from a single pair, labor under a strange delusion, when they believe that their argument is favorable to the idea of a moral government of the world, and of the direct intervention of Providence in the development of mankind. Unconsciously, they advocate a greater and more extensive influence in the production of those peculiarities by physical agencies, than by the Deity himself. If their view were true, God had less to do directly with the production of the diversity which exists in nature, in the vegetable as well as the animal kingdom, and in the human race, than climatic conditions, and the diversity of food upon which these beings subsist.

Moreover, we maintain that in the Mosaic record there is not a single passage asserting that these differences — we mean the physical differences existing among men — have been derived from changes introduced in a primitively more uniform stock of man. We challenge those who maintain that mankind originated from a single pair, to quote a single passage in the whole Scrip-

tures pointing at those physical differences which we notice between the white race and the Chinese, the New Hollanders, the Malays, the American Indians, and the negroes, as having been introduced in the course of time among the children of Adam and Eve. All the statements of the Bible have reference either to the general unity which we acknowledge among men, as well as their diversity, or to the genealogy of one particular race, the history of which is more fully recorded in Genesis. But there is nowhere any mention of those physical differences characteristic of the colored races of men, such as the Mongolians and negroes, which may be quoted as evidence that the sacred writers considered them as descended from a common stock. Have we not, on the contrary, the distinct assertion that the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, nor the leopard his spots? And, however unwelcome it may be in certain quarters to be told so, it is nevertheless true, that this assertion of the common descent of all races of men from a common stock is a mere human construction, entitled to no more credit, and no more confidence, and no more respect, than any other conclusion arising from philosophical investigations of this subject from a scientific point of view. And we wish it here to be clearly understood, that we refer to the diversity among races, and not to the unity to which so frequent allusion is made in the Bible. But it is with this question as it is with many others; what is important for men as men, — what is essential in a moral point of view, in their intercourse with each other, — that is taught by the Bible, and nothing more.* This most important information is the fact that all men are men, equally endowed with the same superior nature and made of one blood, inasmuch as this figurative expression applies to the higher unity of mankind, and not to their supposed genital connection by natural descent.

But without arguing this point upon historical or Scriptural grounds, let us further state, that it is of paramount importance in this investigation to make a distinction between the historical nations which have left mon-

*In this connection we would mention that we have a similar instance in the narrative given by Moses of the creation of the physical world. His object is chiefly to remind men that God created every thing, and not to publish a text-book of geology, or natural history, or anthropology.

uments of their existence in former ages, and of which we have traditions or written records that may assist us in these researches, and those races of men respecting which we have no such reliable information, and upon whose origin we can have absolutely no information except by investigating their physical peculiarities, their present condition in contrast with that of other races, and their geographical distribution at present upon the surface of our globe. This distinction is of great importance, inasmuch as it will lessen the perplexity of those who cannot conceive that the Bible is not a text-book of natural history, and who would like to find there information upon all those subjects which have been left for man to investigate. For, as soon as they can satisfy themselves that such information upon the origin of man as we aim to obtain cannot be found in the genealogy of Genesis, they will be less unwilling to grant natural philosophers the privilege of inquiring into this question; and they will await the results of these investigations with as much confidence in the Bible, as those have continued to have who apprehended some danger to religion from the brilliant discoveries in geology that were made in the beginning of this century, and those who conceived the same apprehension respecting astronomy in the time of Galileo.

The circumstance, that, wherever we find a human race naturally circumscribed, it is connected in its limitation with what we call, in natural history, a zoölogical and botanical province, — that is to say, with the natural limitation of a particular association of animals and plants, — shows most unequivocally the intimate relation existing between mankind and the animal kingdom in their adaptation to the physical world. The arctic race of men, covering the treeless region near the Arctics in Europe, Asia, and America, is circumscribed in the three continents within limits very similar to those occupied by that particular combination of animals which are peculiar to the same tracts of land and sea.

The region inhabited by the Mongolian race is also a natural zoölogical province, covered by a combination of animals naturally circumscribed within the same regions. The Malay race covers also a natural zoölogical prov-

ince. New Holland, again, constitutes a very peculiar zoölogical province, in which we have another particular race of men. And it is further remarkable, in this connection, that the plants and animals now living on the continent of Africa, south of the Atlas, within the same range within which the negroes are naturally circumscribed, have a character differing widely from that of the plants and animals of the northern shores of Africa and the valley of Egypt; while the Cape of Good Hope, within the limits inhabited by Hottentots, is characterized by a vegetation and a fauna equally peculiar, and differing in its features from that over which the African race is spread.

Such identical circumscriptions between the limits of two series of organized beings so widely differing as man and animals and plants, and so entirely unconnected in point of descent, would, to the mind of a naturalist, amount to a demonstration that they originated together within the districts which they now inhabit. We say that such an accumulation of evidence would amount to demonstration; for how could it, on the contrary, be supposed that man alone would assume new peculiarities, and features so different from his primitive characteristics, whilst the animals and plants circumscribed within the same limits would continue to preserve their natural relations to the fauna and flora of other parts of the world?

If the Creator of one set of these living beings had not been also the Creator of the other, and if we did not trace the same general laws throughout nature, there might be room left for the supposition, that, while men inhabiting different parts of the world originated from a common centre, the plants and animals now associated with them in the same countries originated on the spot. But such inconsistencies do not occur in the laws of nature.

The coincidence of the geographical distribution of the human races with that of animals, the disconnection of the climatic conditions where we have similar races, and the connection of climatic conditions where we have different human races, show, further, that the adaptation of different races of men to different parts of the world must be intentional, as well as that of other beings; that men were primitively located in the various parts of the world they inhabit, and that they arose everywhere in those har-

monious numeric proportions with other living beings, which would at once secure their preservation and contribute to their welfare. To suppose that all men originated from Adam and Eve is to assume that the order of creation has been changed in the course of historical times, and to give to the Mosaic record a meaning that it never was intended to have. On that ground, we would particularly insist upon the propriety of considering Genesis as chiefly relating to the history of the white race, with special reference to the history of the Jews.

We hope these remarks will not be considered as attacks upon the Mosaic record. We have felt keenly the injustice and unkindness of the charges that have so represented some of our former remarks. We would also disclaim any connection of these inquiries with the moral principles to be derived from the Holy Scriptures, or with the political condition of the negroes. So far as those two points are concerned, we would insist upon the impropriety of mixing prematurely the results of philosophical inquiry with moral questions. Here we investigate a question of natural history; we look at human nature chiefly in a physical point of view, as naturalists; we study man in his relations to the animal and vegetable world.

It may be that the evidence presented here respecting the diversity of origin of the human races will not satisfy all; it may be that the strength of arguments chiefly derived from considerations connected with the study of zoölogy and botany will not impress all with the same force. We are well aware that many points in the argument, even within the sphere of our own studies, have been left unmentioned. Perhaps fuller comparisons of the social condition of the different races, of their natural dispositions, their habits, their languages, and their implements, might have more weight in the opinion of many than those derived from the comparisons introduced above; and possibly such inquiries ought to have been introduced here to complete the picture of the differences observed between the different races. But our object has been, not to write a treatise on ethnology, but simply to show, that, as a question of natural history, the investigation of the human races leads to the idea of a

diversity of their origin, rather than to the supposition that they have originated from a common stock.

But whatever be the fate of the views we have illustrated, we hope one point is established, and will remain settled in the minds of all who are capable of tracing a philosophical inquiry, — that the question of the unity of mankind does not in itself involve the question of a community of origin of the different races; that these two questions must be considered separately, and that distinct answers are required to both, even if they should be both decided in the affirmative.

We have purposely avoided any allusion to ethnological and philological arguments, not only because we are less familiar with those subjects, but chiefly because we doubt the possibility of deriving from such sources evidence capable of deciding the question either one way or the other. The identity in form and materials of the roughest implements among all savage nations, the similarity of the flint arrow-heads used by wild tribes over almost all the world, far from indicating a common origin, would in our opinion only indicate how natural it is for the human hand seeking for weapons to break hard stones, and to give them the form most likely to make them effective for their deadly purpose. To assume that these rude implements, from their great resemblance in form and material all over the world, indicate a common origin of all these tribes, would be to assume that, in the rude state of existence during which they continued to employ such weapons, they had already arrived at such a state of civilization as would enable them to migrate from one part of the world to another, which we know even in the present day not to be the case among those nations in which the very same implements are in use.

As for the languages, their common structure, and even the analogy in the sounds of different languages, far from indicating a derivation of one from the other, seem to us rather the necessary result of that similarity in the organs of speech, which causes them to produce naturally the same sound. Who would now deny that it is as natural for men to speak, as it is for a dog to bark, for an ass to bray, for a lion to roar, for a wolf to howl, when we see that no nations are so barbarous, so deprived of all human character, as to be unable to express

in language their desires, their fears, their hopes? And if a unity of language, any analogy in sound and structure between the languages of the white race, indicate a closer connection between the different nations of that race, would not the difference which has been observed in the structure of the languages of the wild races, would not the power the American Indians have naturally to utter gutturals which the white can hardly imitate, afford additional evidence that these races did not originate from a common stock, but are only closely allied as men, endowed equally with the same intellectual powers, the same organs of speech, the same sympathies, only developed in slightly different ways in the different races, precisely as we observe the fact between closely allied species of the same genus among birds?

There is no ornithologist, who has ever watched the natural habits of birds and their notes, who has not been surprised at the similarity of intonation of the notes of closely allied species, and the greater difference between the notes of birds belonging to different genera and families. The cry of the birds of prey is alike unpleasant and rough in all; the song of all thrushes is equally sweet and harmonious, and modulated upon similar rhythms, and combined in similar melodies; the chit of all titmice is loquacious and hard; the quack of the duck is alike nasal among all. But who ever thought that the robin learned his melody from the mocking-bird, or the mocking-bird from any other species of thrush? Who ever fancied that the field-crow learned his cawing from the raven or the jackdaw? Certainly no one at all acquainted with the natural history of birds. And why should it be different with men? Why should not the different races of men have originally spoken distinct languages, as they do at present, differing in the same proportions as their organs of speech are variously modified? And why should not these modifications in their turn be indicative of primitive differences among them? It were giving up all induction, all power of arguing from sound premises, if the force of such evidence were to be denied. The only objection which can be raised against all this would rest upon the ground, that it is by no means established that the human races constitute distinct species. For our own part, we are not at all

inclined to urge this point; we do not see the importance of settling the question of the unity of mankind upon the ground of unity or diversity of species. The relations existing between the different human races are at all events different from the natural relations existing between the individuals of truly distinct species in the animal kingdom, and also different from the relations between the individuals belonging truly to the same species among animals. There is among them the possibility of a much closer intercourse; there is in every respect a greater diversity of feature, a greater freedom of development, a greater inequality among individuals. Whether the natural groups which can be recognized in the human family are called races, varieties, or species, is of no great importance, as soon as it is understood that they present the extreme development of a peculiar diversity, already introduced to some extent among some of the higher animals. All that is important in this question is to know whether these differences are primitive, or whether they have been introduced subsequently to the creation of one common primitive stock. But as soon as it can be shown in the animal kingdom that so-called climatic varieties must be considered as primitive, it follows naturally that the human races also must be considered as primitive in their origin, with their peculiar differences, and then the question of plurality or unity of species is one of no greater import than the question whether so-called climatic varieties constitute species or not. The chief point is to distinguish between the unity of mankind and the origin of the different races, and upon this question we trust we have given evidence that will at all events place the question upon a ground different from that upon which it has been argued heretofore. With respect to the religious, moral, or political relations of men, we do not intend now to speak, but we leave those questions for others to consider.

One consideration more, and we will close these remarks. Whether the different races have been from the beginning what they are now, or have been successively modified to their present condition (a view which we consider as utterly unsupported by facts), so much is plain, — that there are upon earth different races

of men, inhabiting different parts of its surface, which have different physical characters; and this fact, as it stands, without reference to the time of its establishment and the cause of its appearance, requires farther investigation, and presses upon us the obligation to settle the relative rank among these races, the relative value of the characters peculiar to each, in a scientific point of view. It is a question of almost insuperable difficulty, but it is as unavoidable as it is difficult; and as philosophers it is our duty to look it in the face. It will not do to assume their equality and identity; it will not do to grant it, even if it were not questioned, so long as actual differences are observed. Giving up such an investigation would be as injurious as to give up an inquiry into the character of individual men whose appearance upon earth, at different times, has benefited mankind by their different abilities; it would be as improper as to deny the characteristic differences between the different nations of our own race upon the mere assertion that, because they belong to the same race, they must be equal. Such views would satisfy nobody, because they go directly against our every day's experience. And it seems to us to be mock-philanthropy and mock-philosophy to assume that all races have the same abilities, enjoy the same powers, and show the same natural dispositions, and that in consequence of this equality they are entitled to the same position in human society. History speaks here for itself. Ages have gone by, and the social developments which have arisen among the different races have at all times been different; and not only different from those of other races, but particularly characteristic in themselves, evincing peculiar dispositions, peculiar tendencies, peculiar adaptations in the different races. The Chinese and Japanese, being politically two distinct nations, but belonging to the same race, present perhaps the most striking evidence of the conformity between the civilizations in one and the same race; and the general contrast between those of distinct races is most apparent when we compare the state of Japan and China with that of the parts of Asia inhabited by Malays, or with the civilizations among the nations of the white race. New Holland, again, though, when

first visited by Europeans, it was found to be already inhabited by populations differing in character from those of any other part of the world previously known, notwithstanding its proximity to Asia, with which it is almost connected by a series of islands not too far apart to have allowed early intercourse between those nations had it been in their nature to rise to a higher civilization, — New Holland, we say, presents, on the contrary, an example of a race entirely shut out from the rest of mankind, in which there has never been any indication of an advanced civilization. The same may be said of the Africans. And in their case we have a most forcible illustration of the fact that the races are essentially distinct, and can hardly be influenced even by a prolonged contact with others when the differences are particularly marked. This compact continent of Africa exhibits a population which has been in constant intercourse with the white race, which has enjoyed the benefit of the example of the Egyptian civilization, of the Phœnician civilization, of the Roman civilization, of the Arab civilization, and of all those nations that have successively flourished in Egypt and in the northern parts of Africa, and nevertheless there has never been a regulated society of black men developed on that continent, so particularly congenial to that race. Do we not find, on the contrary, that the African tribes are to-day what they were in the time of the Pharaohs, what they were at a later period, what they are probably to continue to be for a much longer time? And does not this indicate in this race a peculiar apathy, a peculiar indifference to the advantages afforded by civilized society? We speak, of course, of this race in its primitive condition at home, and not of the position of those who have been transported into other parts of the world to live there under new circumstances. Again, on the continent of America, have we not in the Indians evidence of another mode of existence, indications of other dispositions, of other feelings, of other appreciations of the advantages of life. The character of the Indian race has been so well sketched out by Dr. Morton, in his able works upon that subject, that we need not repeat what he has said. We would only ask, Does not that Indian race present the most striking contrast with the character of the negro race,

or with the character of the Mongolian, especially the Chinese and Japanese? The indomitable, courageous, proud Indian, — in how very different a light he stands by the side of the submissive, obsequious, imitative negro, or by the side of the tricky, cunning, and cowardly Mongolian! Are not these facts indications that the different races do not rank upon one level in nature, — that the different tendencies which characterize man in his highest development are permanently brought out in various combinations, isolated in each of these races, in a manner similar to all the developments in physical nature, and, we may also say, similar to all the developments in the intellectual and moral world, where in the early stages of development we see some one side predominant, which in the highest degree of perfection is combined with all others, in wonderful harmony, even though the lower stages belong to the same sphere as the highest? So can we conceive, and so it seems to us to be indeed the fact, that those higher attributes which characterize man in his highest development are exhibited in the several races in very different proportions, giving, in the case of the inferior races, prominence to features which are more harmoniously combined in the white race, thus preserving the unity among them all, though the difference is made more prominent by the manner in which the different faculties are developed.

What would be the best education to be imparted to the different races in consequence of their primitive difference, if this difference is once granted, no reasonable man can expect to be prepared to say, so long as the principle itself is so generally opposed; but, for our own part, we entertain not the slightest doubt that human affairs with reference to the colored races would be far more judiciously conducted, if, in our intercourse with them, we were guided by a full consciousness of the real difference existing between us and them, and a desire to foster those dispositions that are eminently marked in them, rather than by treating them on terms of equality. We conceive it to be our duty to study these peculiarities, and to do all that is in our power to develop them to the greatest advantage of all parties. And the more we become acquainted with these dispositions, the better, doubtless, will be our course with ref-

erence to our own improvement, and with reference to the advance of the colored races. For our own part, we have always considered it as a most injudicious proceeding to attempt to force the peculiarities of our white civilization of the nineteenth century upon all nations of the world.

There are several other points bearing directly upon the question of the unity of mankind, and the diversity of origin of the human races, which we ought perhaps to have discussed here, such as the zoölogical characteristics of the individual races, and their special limitation, their transitions, and their mixture, and the question of hybrids in general; but these are subjects extensive enough in themselves to require to be discussed separately. We have no intention for the present to enter upon the discussion of facts not strictly connected with the philosophy of the question, and we leave this subject with the hope of having removed many doubts and much hesitation. L. A.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Discourses on the Rectitude of Human Nature. By George W. Burnap, D. D. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1850. 12mo. pp. 409.

An elaborate analysis of this work, with illustrative extracts, had we space for them, would justify to the judgments of our readers the commendations which, when simply stated as our own estimate, may seem indiscriminate and exaggerated. We wish every person interested in such subjects, either as a private student or as a public teacher, would carefully peruse these Discourses; for there are very few persons, however well read and trained in theology, who would not receive instruction, pleasure, and moral benefit from them, — whose views would not be rendered clearer and more systematic. In giving our judgment o the work so briefly as we are compelled to do, we fear we shall not be able to convey an adequate idea of its value, but we hope it will itself find so extensive a sale and study as to render any review unimportant.

This is eminently a timely publication, — just the kind of work which is now most appropriate and needed. It takes up a subject of universal concern to men, of vital moment in theology, — takes it up, not at the stage where it was vexed centuries ago, not in the prescriptive word-weighing way in which such themes used to be discussed, but where it now stands among intelligent men of opposite opinions, — handles it with distinguished clearness of reasoning, generousness of sentiment, natural variety of appeal, and does as much toward the complete settlement of the question as one book could possibly be expected to do. In fact, we are convinced that any *unprejudiced* person who will fairly weigh the arguments stated on these pages will be fully satisfied of their accuracy, of the correctness of the Unitarian views of Human Nature. The whole character of the volume, therefore, renders it a most fit offering to the reading public of these times.

The plan of the book is a happy one. By discussing the subject under separate topics, and in sermons full of direct address, a variety and a practical character are secured which could not easily have appeared had it been formally arranged in chapters, and coldly composed in the third person. Although decidedly a theological, it is equally a practical production. By no means its least value consists in the moral and religious lessons and motives that spring so forcibly from the truths it establishes. The subject-matter is laid out in twenty-four discourses, each complete in itself, though skilfully arranged in a cumulative order with the rest. The conception of this method is felicitous, as being lucid, popular, and full of details, while at the same time it is comprehensive and philosophical in a striking degree. It contains an exposition of the whole question in itself, and in its mutual relations with collateral subjects, as they appear in the light of reason, morals, religion, consciousness, experience, observation, Scripture, and ecclesiastical history. The entire ground is traversed.

The execution of the work is as excellent as its plan. In thought and sentiment it is vigorous, catholic, full of earnestness and decision, and the high level of its tone is remarkably well maintained. It abounds in fine specimens of analysis and argumentation, though the author does not claim particular aptitude for the subtilties of metaphysics. In style, it is a model both of pure English and of direct force. There is no difficulty in telling what he means. He uses words in the common signification, and has no parenthetical clauses in his sentences. The rectitude which he demonstrates for human nature seems reflected in his statements, for they are strikingly straight. The rhetoric of these Discourses is free from conscious ornament. Their distinguishing merits in this particular are perspicuity, chasteness, and energy, though, as would naturally be expected from such a combination, they contain many passages of rare beauty.

We especially commend the frank, unflinching firmness and consistency with which the author utters his honest thoughts, without fear or favor. Those who believe in John Calvin and in the Westminster Catechism concerning total depravity have used this freedom so often and so much that they cannot complain of it in an opponent. It is right that the whole, uncompromising truth should be boldly spoken out on this subject, and on this side of it. It needs to be done, — it is high time it were done. If Unitarians as a body have been wanting in one thing, it has been a decided, unequivocal, full statement of their theological opinions.

There is one thing more especially for which the author of this volume is to be honored. We mean, for the labor he has evidently bestowed upon it. In these days of hot haste, diffuseness, and shallowness, he who devotes years of toil to a subject, and gives us a publication crowded with the results of laborious research and patient thinking, is emphatically worthy of respect and gratitude. He presents a motive to those of us who are obnoxious to the charge, if not of personal indolence, at least of public indifference. These Discourses are packed and loaded with substance. Although the book is quite large, there is not a division of it which is not full of condensed materials. It would, we think, be difficult to bring forward a single suggestion of importance on the subject which it treats, that is not clearly presented in it, so thorough, so wellnigh exhaustive, is it. There are no marks of crudity or slovenliness in it, but nearly every page reveals traces of deliberation, signs of extensive and accurate learning. In taking it up, one might expect to be led through a thirsty land whose springs are dry, but he will find it invested with interest and full of freshness. At least it has been so to us.

In a controversial aspect, we regard this as one of the most noteworthy and valuable performances that has appeared here for some time. If it could obtain the circulation and candid perusal among other sects which its intrinsic weight warrants, it would not be without wide, permanent effects. We beg to commend it to the notice of our Calvinistic brethren. The subject it examines is beyond all question the most important one in theology. The ability with which it is treated in this instance deserves to be met. The mass of arguments here gathered demand attention, challenge an answer, and defy refutation.

Toiling at a distant post of our faith, unaided and alone, the author has found time to put to press a series of publications, — of which this is the seventh volume, — whose theological characteristics have reflected honor upon the denomination to which he belongs in particular, whose intellectual force and moral purity have won the high consideration of the friends of education and virtue in general, and whose solid merits of substance and style

have made them valuable contributions to the literature of the country. The present work, upon the whole, we consider his ablest and best. It shows improvement over the others in unity of purpose, flexibility of treatment, tenderness, and experimental truth of religious expression. Dr. Burnap's industry, his hearty endeavour to do something useful in his day and generation, is a bright example to us all. Long may he live to illustrate it.

Communion Thoughts. By S. G. Bulfinch, Author of "Lays of the Gospel." Boston: Wm. Crosby and H. P. Nichols. 1850. 16mo. pp. 204.

This book has come to meet, if we mistake not, a widely-felt want. Our religious literature, with all its variety and richness, has been greatly deficient in works of this particular class; — to be accounted for in part, probably, by the fact, that such different views have been known to exist among us with regard to the communion rite; and more, by the experienced difficulty of guiding aright and worthily expressing the sentiments and feelings which should attend upon its observance. With the exception of a small work, compiled, many years ago, by Dr. Lowell, as one of the series of the "Christian Monitor," and which is not now to be found on sale, we know of no work especially devoted to the use of communicants in our churches, to aid and direct them in a worthy participation of this holy rite. The work recently published, entitled "Sermons on Christian Communion," though good in its place, is general in its plan, embraces much which has only an indirect bearing upon the communion service, and is, besides, too formidable in size and price to become widely diffused. It is not, in fact, and was not designed to be, a communicant's manual. Such *is* the book now under notice. It is a book which the disciple may take up as he draws near the Master's table, and in which he may find all the most touching and quickening thoughts that the occasion is calculated to suggest to a devout mind, expressed in graceful yet simple language, and accompanied with forms in which the devotional feelings may find at once utterance and enlargement. It is a book, too, for one to profit by at other times, — which may be taken up, from day to day, to make permanent, by its thoughts and reflections, the influences of the service for which it had been the preparation, and to quicken and deepen the whole religious life. And it is not a book for the communicant alone; but is designed, in part, for those — and they are many — who, though seriously disposed, and Christians in faith and endeavour, have yet never felt the obligation as clearly resting upon them to come to the

Lord's Supper. Such will do well to look into this little book. They will find in it the leading arguments for the observance of the rite well and compendiously stated; the various objections in relation to it fairly weighed and considered; the most impressive and fervent appeals for it, tempered by the calmness of a rational and well-balanced mind. They will find that an earnest *advocacy*, at least, of rites and forms may be consistent with the highest spirituality; if they are not led, as we think they will be, to the belief that there is a *use* of them by which such spirituality may be promoted. We cannot but anticipate for this work, from the character of its contents, and the spirit of genuine devoutness which breathes through it, a welcome and wide reception among our people, and most desirable results thereby to our churches. And we cannot but hope that ministers will take pains to make it known, as a means of inciting thought in a most important direction, and of seconding and sustaining their own preaching and conversation. What better book could be placed in the hands of the seriously-minded among non-communicants, to win them to that observance which seems to seal them as more truly Christ's, and which, in the testimony of millions, living and departed, has stores of holy influence for the devout observer? and what better book could be placed in the hands of communicants, as an aid to the realization of such influence on themselves? We know not of any. The book is divided into five parts; — the first, relating to the Lord's Supper, and made up of arguments and persuasives to its observance; the second, presenting the Saviour in the several prominent and endearing relations in which he stands to us; the third, containing exercises in self-examination and prayer, with passages of Scripture, expressly for the communicant; the fourth, relating to the Christian walk; and the fifth, containing pieces in verse, not before published, kindred in character with those poetical meditations by which the author has given new interest and beauty to so many passages of the Saviour's life.

The Elements of Astronomy; or the World as it is and as it appears. By the Author of "The Theory of Teaching," &c. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1850. 12mo. pp. 376.

We know from experience, if we may be allowed such reference to personal history, that an author sometimes yields to the wishes of the publisher in choosing a title. As "The Elements of Astronomy," we should give this book very high praise. Crowded with facts, clear and intelligible in its statements of principles, abounding in familiar, generally correct, and often happy illustrations, and free from technicalities and pedantry, the

book seems to us very well suited for the purpose of instruction in high schools and academies. It has defects, even as a school-book, but is, nevertheless, one of the best school-books, on astronomy proper, with which we are acquainted.

But if any one is led by the advertised title, "The World as it is and as it appears," to look in it for any contribution to general literature, for any picturesque description of the heavens, or any powerfully drawn contrasts between the glittering spectacle as seen by human eyes, and the stupendous realities demonstrated by human reason, — we fear that his utter disappointment at finding nothing of the kind may make him indifferent to the real merits of the treatise.

Arithmetic practically applied, &c. By HORACE MANN, LL. D., and PLINY E. CHASE, A. M. Philadelphia. 1850. 16mo. pp. 384.

WE believe that Chase's Arithmetic, followed by this work of Mann and Chase, and accompanied by Colburn's indispensable First Lessons, will be found to be the very best series of text-books on arithmetic that can be used in common-school education. The present work contains a perfect mine of various information, and will be found, not only valuable in schools, but a great treasure as a book for private reference upon all questions under the domain of arithmetic which are likely to arise in a family, workshop, or counting-house, or upon a farm.

The useful rule of double position, discarded in so many modern books, is here restored in a simpler and better form. The two rules of Mr. Chase might, however, be united in one, as follows: —

Arrange the conditions of the question in such manner that certain operations upon the required number will give a definite number, or zero, as a result. Perform these operations upon two assumed numbers. Then the required number, or an approximation to it, will be found from the proportion. As the difference of results is to the difference of the assumed numbers, so the error of either result is to the error of the corresponding assumed number.

An Introduction to the Books of the Old and New Testaments. By A. SCHUMANN. Translated from the German by the Author of "The People's Dictionary of the Bible." London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1849. 8vo. pp. 337.

WE have already informed our readers that this concise intro-

duction to the books of the Old Testament, of the Apocrypha, and of the New Testament, has been translated from the German by Dr. Beard, as a volume of his Library of Christian Literature. It contains a statement of what the author, Mr. Schumann, regards as the "sure results" gained by theological criticism in Germany during the last fifty years. The author, according to Dr. Beard, is orthodox in his views of Christianity, and yet a disciple of Gesenius and De Wette in Biblical criticism. We think he has stated with correctness the results of historical criticism relating to the Scriptures, as maintained by the great majority of German scholars. But as to the question whether these results are "sure," there will be considerable difference of opinion. We are happy to perceive that, in relation to the New Testament, the author states, as the "results" of German criticism, the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the New Testament to as great an extent as they are maintained by the most learned critics in England and this country. He decides only against the genuineness of those about which there has been a difference of opinion for ages, — such as the Second Epistle of Peter, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse, &c. The last he supposes to have been written by an unknown person by the name of John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews by Apollos.

In regard to the Old Testament, the author adopts in substance, and states as the "sure results" of Biblical criticism in Germany, those views of the antiquity and authorship of the books which have been in substance maintained by De Wette and Gesenius, and in this country by Mr. Norton and others. The Pentateuch he supposes to have been written between the time of the kings and the captivity. A portion of Isaiah he supposes to have been written in the time of the captivity at Babylon, and Daniel about 168 – 165 before Christ.

The work contains a great deal of information respecting the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament, compressed into a small compass, and stated in plain language, with scarcely any intermixture of Latin, Greek, or Hebrew. To all who wish to know the general results of the great attention bestowed on the historical criticism of the Scriptures in Germany for the last fifty years, we recommend this work as a very convenient compend. It may be imported for $ 2.37.

The author's views respecting the authorship and date of the Pentateuch and other books of the Old Testament do not weaken his faith in the Divine legation of Moses, or in Divine revelation. This is what we might expect. We have long been of the opinion that the Divine legation of Moses can be better maintained on the supposition that the Pentateuch was written long after his death, than on the supposition that he wrote the whole of it. Schumann says, as quoted by Dr. Beard in the Preface, —

"My position is not that of blind belief in every letter of the Scriptures; but I have a firm conviction that the Bible contains a Divine revelation, and this conviction rests on systematic investigation and reasonable grounds. In the Scriptures I find the word of the living God. Their sacred authors spoke under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, but without being thereby forcibly removed from their age, their culture, their circumstances, — in short, from the view of life given them by the various relations in which they stood. All these influences were rather employed by the Spirit of God, in order to lead them to a clearer knowledge of Divine truth. That truth, so far as under God's grace they became acquainted with it, lies in their writings visible to every eye. Only in the words of the Saviour himself, however, do I recognize the pure, full, eternal truth, as revealed to us by the invisible Father, through his only-begotten Son."

A Treatise on English Punctuation; designed for Letter-Writers, Authors, Printers, and Correctors of the Press; and for the Use of Schools and Academies. With an Appendix, containing a List of Abbreviations, Hints on Proof-Reading, etc. By JOHN WILSON. Second Edition of "Grammatical Punctuation," enlarged. Boston: Printed and published by the Author. 1850. 12mo. pp. 204.

IN itself a most beautiful specimen of the noble art of printing, this book is designed to secure accuracy, elegance, and lucidness in works that issue from the press. There is scarce any one of the arts or interests of life in which what are called *trifles* are after all of more essential importance than in printing. Commas, periods, quotation-marks, abbreviations, signs, &c., may be very vital matters. A price-current in one of our newspapers is a task for its author, compositor, and proof-reader, which very few persons who look to it with perfect confidence are wont to appreciate. Change the position of a comma, and see how it will alter dollars into cents, and interchange tens, hundreds, and thousands. Thus $ 6,000 (six thousand dollars) will easily be reduced to $ 60,00 (sixty dollars). Leave out in your manuscript the quotation-marks in a sentence or a paragraph which you have borrowed from another writer, and when the printer has, without correction, followed your copy, and given your work to the world, you may be accused of *plagiarism*. The most mortifying mistakes are constantly occurring in our newspapers, pamphlets, and books, from a careless oversight of the press.

All necessary information upon this important subject will be found, presented in a very simple and forcible way, in Mr. Wilson's Treatise on Punctuation. It is an exceedingly valuable book, and a copy of it should be at the service of every one who is directly or indirectly interested in the large subject of which it

treats, — all who have to write important letters, records, and documents, as well as those who write for the press. Quite a dispute has recently been waged in two of our newspapers arising from a sentence in a speech of Daniel Webster's, as to whether *he approved a certain bill with some amendments*, or whether with *some amendments he would approve it.* The issue is not yet settled. We thought ourselves somewhat skilled, by tedious discipline, in the practical work of correction with which Mr. Wilson deals, having endured frequent mortifications on account of very painful *errata* in a certain religious paper published weekly in this city, and having paid sundry charges for *extra corrections* in these very pages. But we have learned much from Mr. Wilson's excellent volume, and have made several good resolutions on the strength thereof. Its title is a very full exposition of its contents, and a reader of it will be equally surprised and instructed by the amount of knowledge — good, useful knowledge — which its perusal will impart. We heartily commend it to the masters and pupils of all our high schools and academies, and hope that its skilful and laborious author will soon be called upon to exercise his careful patience on another edition of his book.

Elements of Intellectual Philosophy. Designed for a Text-Book and for Private Reading. By Hubbard Winslow, A. M. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1850. 12mo. pp. 414.

The value and merits of this book are to be estimated with reference to its purpose, which is distinctly stated in the title-page. The author evidently had in view the preparation of a good philosophical manual for the use of the pupils of a well-taught school, and designed to make his work of the most intelligible and useful character to them. His aim was highly commendable, and we think he has accomplished it with very marked success. His own distinguished fame as an esteemed instructor, able to communicate the most valuable instruction, and to engage the attention and interest of his pupils, would go far before the perusal of any work of his to commend to us its fitness for its purpose. Successful practice in teaching is an experimental warrant for the master's theory. Mr. Winslow judges wisely in attaching great importance in education to that mode of disciplining the powers of thought and reason which is found in distinguishing the differences and relations of things. There is scarcely any defect more common, even among the pupils that have enjoyed our best means of education, than that of *discrimination*, — a word which cannot be fairly and fully defined without meaning almost the same thing as philosophy.

We regard this volume as eminently well adapted to cultivate the faculty of *discrimination* in pupils, for it is intended to make them philosophize,—to answer questions as well as to receive instruction. The main effort of the author seems to have been to render philosophy a matter of practical utility; to show that, so far from having no bearing upon things of daily use and value, as a vulgar prejudice judges of philosophy, it is eminently a guide to all that is actually useful and precious beyond a merely animal existence. Mr. Winslow avails himself of the widest scope of meaning in the phrase *Intellectual Philosophy*, by embracing under it many matters of intellectual interest. His statements of the principles of the science are given in plain terms and in intelligible language.

The Conquest of Canada. By the Author of "Hochelaga." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 351, 366.

Though there is much space in these volumes devoted to matters irrelevant to the main subject, we suppose the fact is to be accounted to the author's love of completeness. After a very spirited Introduction, in which he compares the different objects and method of colonization in the New World adopted by England and France, he begins with a statement of the views entertained by the ancients respecting the sphericity of the world, and a sketch of the progress of discovery. The main story of the conquest is well told. The Indian history is lively, though perhaps too exclusively based upon Charlevoix. There is enough of romance in the theme to make any treatment of it interesting. A very copious Appendix of extracts and authorities furnishes valuable illustrative matter. The work is filled with pleasant and instructive details, and will repay perusal.

The Pillars of Hercules; or a Narrative of Travels in Spain and Morocco in 1848. By David Urquhart, M. P. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 287, 283.

A comparatively fresh and unhackneyed region of the earth, rich in ancient stories, and full of modern interest, is described in these two very entertaining volumes. The author, laying aside all fanciful ideas of the dignity of such narratives, enters into the homeliest particulars. He was evidently a most scrutinizing observer, and we learn from him much that we should have looked for in vain through piles of literature, and perhaps should not see

ourselves, if we were ever to set out and follow his track. He lays out his strength especially in recommending the bath. Dipping into the volumes here and there, we have been so engaged by them as to resolve upon a complete perusal of them.

A Modern History from the Time of Luther to the Fall of Napoleon. For the Use of Schools and Colleges. By JOHN LORD, A. M., Lecturer on History. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. 12mo. pp. 544.

THE brilliant success which attended the delivery of these lectures, as well in England as in several of our own cities, has proved that they are suited for the popular use for which they are designed. Without aiming to be either elaborate philosophical essays on their many great subjects, or carefully wrought narratives of conflicting interests and party issues in all their *minutiæ* of detail, they are lively and spirited sketches of great men and great deeds, without any bias or favoritism to vitiate the judgment of the author.

Railway Economy: a Treatise on the New Art of Transport, its Management, Prospects, and Relations, Commercial, Financial, and Social, with an Exposition of the Practical Results of the Railways in Operation in the United Kingdom, on the Continent, and in America. By DIONYSIUS LARDNER, D. C. L. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850. 12mo. pp. 442.

THE fulness of this title renders unnecessary any further specification of the contents of this volume, though we observe that it contains even more than its title embraces. It is sure of a wide circulation because of the wonderful extent of that material interest of which it treats. What an astounding exhibition does it make of the impulse which one new process will give to all art, science, social and domestic economy!

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*** It is impossible for the most diligent reader to please even a most inordinate appetite by the perusal of half of the excellent volumes in biography, history, science, and general literature, which month by month crowd upon us. It is evident that the book trade is now with us one of the most flourishing of all mercantile pursuits, and it is plain that there is an appreciation of works of real value, equal, at least, to the circulation of less improving volumes. Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. have found a very extensive sale for their editions of the sterling historical works, and having now completed their cheap, but substantial edition of Milman's Gibbon, will be encouraged to some new undertaking. Their splendid copy of Shakspeare has reached the eighteenth number, and we would again commend it to those who own no copy, or but a poor copy, of the works of the greatest of English authors. The notes and illustrative matter, with the portraits of the heroines, complete the value of the text. The same publishers issue simultaneously with the English edition Carlyle's Latter-Day Pamphlets. The sixth of the series, entitled "Parliaments," is the most sensible and reasonable one that has yet appeared. They have likewise published "Mohammed, the Arabian Prophet, a Tragedy, in Five Acts, by George H. Miles." (12mo, pp. 168.) Out of nearly one hundred competitors, Mr. Miles obtained for this tragedy the prize of one thousand dollars offered for the best of such performances, by Mr. Edwin Forrest. Considering that this is not the best age for these compositions, the prize must stand for fame.

The Messrs. Harper of New York alone furnish more works, either original or reprinted, of the very highest character, than any person but a proof-reader in each department could peruse. They have covered the country with their agencies, and, however profitable their trade may be to themselves, have a claim to be regarded as public benefactors. In June they commenced the publication of a Monthly Magazine, in stout octavo, and at the price of twenty-five cents a number. It is perfectly plethoric with a most generous selection from all the original sources of English magazine literature of the time. They are progressing with their edition of Milman's Gibbon. There are readers enough in the country to do equal justice to this, and to the new Boston edition of the same work. The Harpers have published "Hints toward Reforms, in Lectures, Addresses, and other Writings, by Horace Greeley." (12mo, pp. 400.) Mr. Greeley, whose racy and bold style of lecturing and writing has made him a favorite with his thousands of readers in his 'Tribune," as well as with lyceums and kindred institutions, has the skill of advocating all the most radical reforms of this age; yet, while he certainly does this, he introduces those cautions and qualifications which make his advice and opinions and measures safe and discreet. "The History of the Confessional," by Bishop Hopkins, (Harpers, 12mo, pp. 334,) is an attempt to sketch the history, to discuss the authority, and to penetrate to the secrets, of the confessional in the Church

of Rome. It would require a larger volume, not to say, also, a differently constituted mind, to treat the theme. "The Past, Present, and Future of the Republic" (Harpers, 12mo, pp. 164) is a translation of another of the rhapsodical, but truly eloquent, though but half philosophical, essays of the fluent Lamartine. The Harpers have published the third volume of the "Life of Southey," a most engaging and rich work; and have also undertaken a new serial, under the title of "Pictorial Field-Book of the (American) Revolution." This work, of which two numbers have been issued, promises to be faithfully prepared and beautifully illustrated. The subject invites this elaborate treatment, with numerous wood-engravings, picturing forth the scenes, relics, and incidents of the war, while history, biography, and tradition furnish the matter for the printed pages.

D. Appleton & Co., of New York, have added many publications of high value to their already extensive catalogue. They have reprinted Mrs. E. B. Lee's translation of the Autobiography of Jean Paul Richter, in one volume. This charming book, the Boston edition of which has long been out of print, and an English edition of which was published without any acknowledgment of its American origin, will now find a new circle of readers. — "The Gospel its own Advocate, by George Griffin, LL. D." (Appleton & Co., 12mo, pp. 352). This volume exhibits, under a somewhat novel mode of treatment, the internal demonstrations of the truth of the Gospel. — "Woman in America: her Work and her Reward," by Maria J. Mackintosh, (Appleton & Co., 12mo, pp. 125,) is from a pen already successful in fiction and in semi-fictitious writings. — "M. Tullii Ciceronis de Officiis, Libri Tres, with English Notes, chiefly selected and translated from the Editions of Zumpt and Bonnell, by Thomas A. Thacher," (12mo, pp. 194,) is another of the excellent classical school-manuals, of which the Messrs. Appleton have published more than any other firm in the country.

"Poetry for Schools: designed for Reading and Recitation, the whole selected from the best Poets in the English Language," (New York, C. S. Francis & Co., 12mo, pp. 396,) is a new edition, revised, enlarged, and increased, of Miss Eliza Robbins's well-known selection of poetry.

"The Gallery of Illustrious Americans" is the title of a series of royal folio publications, which are to contain portraits and biographical sketches of twenty-four of the most eminent citizens of this republic since the death of Washington. The work is projected on a generous scale. The portraits are from Daguerreotypes by Brady, engraved by D'Avignon, and the letter-press by C. Edwards Lester. Six of the number contemplated in the series have already appeared, viz. President Taylor, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Silas Wright, Henry Clay, and Colonel Fremont.

Messrs. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields announce several volumes of the very highest interest, such as give promise of abundant mental food when the autumn chills shall again make home the most desirable and attractive place. Wordsworth's posthumous poem deserves to be mentioned first. Under the care of his nephew, who is charged with the editing of this volume, it is now passing through the press in England, and will appear almost simultaneously here.— Under the title of "In Memoriam," is to be published a new volume of sonnets and elegiac poems, by Alfred Tennyson. They are understood to have been written in commemoration of a son of the historian Hallam, the intimate friend of the poet. —

Rev. Henry Giles is to give us through this firm a new volume, entitled "Christian Thoughts on Life," embracing the following topics: The Worth of Life, The Personality of Life, The Continuity of Life, The Struggle of Life, The Discipline of Life, Faith and Passion, Temper, The Guilt of Contempt, Evangelical Goodness, Spiritual Incongruities, Weariness of Life, Mysteries in Religion and in Life. — Mr. Hawthorne is preparing "True Tales from History and Biography for the Young." An elegantly illustrated edition of Professor Longfellow's "Evangeline" will soon be published, with forty-five engravings by English artists. The same firm will very soon reprint two volumes of De Quincey's writings, embracing Confessions of an Opium-Eater, his Suspiria Papers, and five of his biographies, viz. Shakspeare, Pope, Goethe, Schiller, and Charles Lamb.

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. will publish very soon "Margaret Percival in America, a Religious Tale, edited by a Congregational Clergyman." Those who have read the Margaret Percival in England, by the famous Puseyite divine, Rev. Wm. Sewell, will find the other view of sundry questions of morals and religion in the American book.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Dudleian Lecture. — The annual Dudleian Lecture was delivered in the Chapel of Harvard College, on Wednesday, May 8th, by Rev. Dr. Edward B. Hall, of Providence, R. I. The subject in course was, The Validity of the Mode of Ordination in the Congregational Churches of New England. Dr. Hall evidently sought to avoid the treatment of his subject in a rigidly controversial way, and therefore availed himself of the full liberty left to the preacher by the Hon. Paul Dudley, the founder of the Lectures, who did not require that an assault should be made upon any other mode of ordination, but only that the validity of our own should be sustained. Nor is the audience before the preacher on such an occasion one that could be benefited by a strictly controversial discourse. Those of the audience who could appreciate and understand an argument on the subject do not need it, because already satisfied of the false, absurd, and unscriptural character of the high pretensions of prelacy. The young men, the students of the College, with very few exceptions, know but little, and care still less, about the controversy. Dr. Hall passed over the polemics of his theme so hastily, and with such evident distaste, as, perhaps, to do it injustice, though the moderation and mildness of his statements secured to them the true Christian tone. His main purpose was to present that view of the Gospel and its ordinances which aims to establish a spiritual kingdom in the hearts of believers infinitely surpassing the power of a priesthood, a ritual, and a hierarchy.

The Anniversaries. — The attendance upon the numerous — the too numerous — meetings, which have made Anniversary Week more famous even than was the same period of time under its old title, was very large, nor was there any apparent diminution of interest in them. Our religious papers have given such extended reports of what was said and done in them, that we have left for us only the grateful task of record-

ing such of them as come appropriately under this department of our pages.

Unitarian Book and Pamphlet Society. — This modest but efficient society was formed in 1827, its sole object being to stock a depository with books and tracts containing sound views of theology, morals, and Christian duty, for gratuitous distribution. Its gifts are not scattered indiscriminately in waste and unpromising places, but are freely bestowed upon such as seek them directly or indirectly. The poor and ignorant in our own midst, and wanderers far away, have been benefited by its judicious charity. The Annual Sermon in behalf of the Society was preached in the Church of the Saviour, on Sunday evening, May 26, by Rev. George E. Ellis of Charlestown.

The Prison Discipline Society held its twenty-fifth annual meeting in the vestry of Park Street Church, on Monday, May 27, for business purposes, the Society voting to hold no public meeting. The Report of the Managers had a melancholy duty to perform, in commemorating many of its most efficient members and its most generous benefactors who have recently deceased, chiefly during its last financial year, including the late Hon. Messrs. John D. Williams, Samuel T. Armstrong, John R. Adan, and Dr. Edward H. Robbins, besides the President, Hon. Theodore Lyman. That munificent founder of the Massachusetts State Reform School at Westborough, which he endowed with more than $80,000, will ever be held in most respectful regard in this community, for his wise and devoted concern for the objects of this Society. The Hon. Samuel A. Eliot, his brother-in-law, and long a Vice-President of the Society, was chosen its President, his place being filled by the election of the Hon. William H. Prescott.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity held its annual meeting at the house of its Secretary, Rev. Dr. Young, on Monday, May 27: its business consisting of the choice of officers to manage its pecuniary trust, and to continue its benefactions in its own chosen channel of Christian effort.

The Massachusetts Bible Society held its forty-first anniversary in the Central Church, on Monday afternoon, May 27, the President, Hon. Simon Greenleaf, in the chair. Rev. Dr. Sharp offered prayer and read from the Scriptures. The Rev. Dr. Parkman read the Report of the Executive Committee. The Society, being now disconnected from the American Bible Society, stands upon its own original, independent basis, and is solely devoted to its own peculiar work. It has distributed during the last year 5,825 Bibles, and 12,790 copies of the New Testament: 941 of the volumes were in foreign languages. Resolutions were passed and addresses made by Hon. William Hubbard, Rev. A. Hill of Worcester, and Hon. Edward Everett.

The American Peace Society held its twenty-second anniversary on Monday evening, May 27, in Park Street Church, and the report of the condition, agency, and prospects of the Society was of the most encour-

aging character. Its receipts for the past year have been double those of the preceding year. Three Peace Congresses have been already held in Europe since 1843, and a fourth is to be held at Frankfort-on-the-Main in the coming August, to which delegates have been commissioned from this country, so that the agency to which the Society looks with the greatest hope is vigorously sustained. Large numbers of the volumes on the Mexican War by Judge Jay and Rev. A. A. Livermore, besides numerous other books and tracts, have been widely distributed. Five agents have been employed by the Society. Numerous petitions, praying for peaceful substitutes for the sword, have been addressed to Congress, and but one vote was lacking in the House of Representatives to have secured a special committee to report upon them. Deacon Samuel Greele, a Vice-President of the Society, presided. Rev. Dr. Tucker offered prayer and read from the Scriptures. The Rev. Mr. Beckwith, the Secretary, read the Report, and the Rev. A. L. Stone, pastor of Park Street Church, delivered the Annual Address to a densely crowded assembly.

Society for the Relief of Aged and Indigent Unitarian Ministers. — This Society, which was formed a year ago, and was incorporated by the Legislature at its last session, held its annual meeting, and organized itself according to its charter, on Tuesday, May 28, at the chapel of the Church of the Saviour. Rev. Dr. Nichols, the President, being absent, the Rev. Dr. Frothingham, a Vice-President, took the chair. The officers previously chosen were reëlected. The Treasurer, Rev. Dr. E. Peabody, read his Report, from which it appeared that the permanent fund of the Society is already more than $4,500. This amount, considering that no very earnest efforts have been made to raise it, is certainly a very generous contribution from our friends thus far to a most worthy object. It may be confidently expected that bequests will from time to time be made to the Society, and that many small sums will still come into its treasury from churches and congregations that are but now informed of its existence. A vote of thanks was passed to those congregations and individuals that have already contributed to the fund. As it was thought wise and proper to fix some definite age which should have been reached by the objects of this charity, it was unanimously voted that its recipients must be at least fifty-five years old.

American Unitarian Association. — The annual business-meeting of the Association was held in the chapel of the Church of the Saviour, on Tuesday morning, May 28, the President, Rev. Dr. Gannett, in the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. Nathaniel Hall of Dorchester. A quarter of a century having now elapsed since the Association was formed, the Report of the Secretary, Rev. F. W. Holland, as well as many of the remarks at the public meeting in the evening, made constant reference to that fact, as offering a point from which to review the work that has been accomplished, and from which to commemorate some of its most devoted friends who have passed away. The controversial, philanthropic, and spiritual agencies and efforts of the Association, when thus brought into review and presented in connection with the great occasions which have called them forth, did certainly

offer most convincing evidences of the vitality and efficiency of our Christian brotherhood. The Secretary did justice to the occasion and the theme. His Report was by far the most interesting one to which we have listened at our anniversaries. The feeble beginnings of the Association seem to us, in one point of view, to indicate its strongest period, because of the earnestness and devotion of the very few members who were its first supporters. It is a very remarkable fact, that, without the slightest concert of action, or even any mutual knowledge or communication on the subject between the two countries, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association should have been formed in London at precisely the same time that gave birth to our Association in Boston.

No statistics from our records, such as an enumeration of the tracts issued, of the churches and societies gathered or sustained, of the missionaries sent forth, or of the sums of money collected and spent for the specific objects of our Association, would afford any thing approaching to a fair estimate of what it has effected for the cause of pure, Scriptural Christianity. Its indirect influences upon all other denominations around us constitute one portion of its most successful agency which we have no means of estimating. At least half of all the so-called Orthodox churches in this State are now under such liberal ministrations, that many of those who were most earnest in forming the Unitarian Association would not find in them the doctrines and measures against which their zeal was kindled in former years. We by no means claim for Unitarians the whole credit of having Christianized and humanized Orthodoxy, but Unitarianism has done much of that benevolent work, and has not yet exhausted its power.

The Rev. Dr. Gannett was reëlected President, and the Rev. S. K. Lothrop and the Hon. Stephen Fairbanks Vice-Presidents, of the Association. Mr. Holland withdrew his name as a candidate for reëlection as Secretary, and the Rev. Calvin Lincoln of Fitchburg was chosen to that office. He has since signified his acceptance of it. A vote of thanks was passed, expressive of the sense of the Association of the devoted and most laborious efforts of the late Secretary in discharging his arduous duties.

The public meeting of the Association was held in the Federal Street Church in the evening, and was opened by prayer by the Rev. Wm. Mountford of England. After the Secretary had read a sketch of the Report, the President, by brief and felicitous remarks, indicating the topics which each speaker would present, called out successively six gentlemen. Deacon Samuel Greele reviewed the operations of the Association in its controversial, benevolent, and spiritual enterprises; during the whole period of its existence, he himself has always been an efficient member of it. The Rev. Mr. Osgood of New York, treating of our literature, of our present relative position in Christendom, and of our wants at this time, gave expression to many encouraging and stirring feelings. The Hon. John G. Palfrey held the audience in profound and sympathizing attention, while he called back from the shades many of his former associates in the ministry, and with rare beauty of diction and a constant variety of appropriate epithet, delineated the striking features of body, mind, and heart of those who are so tenderly cherished in our memories. The Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York spoke from a full breast and from a rich experience, upon our work, our growth, our rivals, our ministry, and upon the demands which the present

stirring times make upon us. The Rev. Russell Lant Carpenter of England gave us much information concerning our brethren across the water, and in most vigorous and instructive tones proved to us how strong was our bond of union. The Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester closed with some cheering remarks which prepared for and anticipated with hope the future before us.

The Collation. — This is the title of the entertainment which is annually provided on the day of the meeting of the Association, by the Unitarian laity of the city, for the ministers and their wives from town and country. It was held this year in the Assembly Hall, Beach Street, and the numbers gathered around the tables did not fall much short of one thousand. Besides the substantial elements used for such an occasion, rich flowers and wreaths offered their aid, and many portraits of those whom we revere and honor adorned the walls. The Hon. James Savage presided. A blessing was invoked by Rev. Dr. Gannett, and thanks were returned by Rev. Samuel Osgood. After the repast, the President, in behalf of the hosts, welcomed their guests, and invited remarks from the whole field of observation which the sympathies and memories of the occasion opened. Brief speeches were made by Rev. Mr. Osgood of New York, Lieutenant-Governor Reed, Hon. Daniel P. King, M. C., Rev. E. T. Taylor, Rev. Messrs. Henry Giles, R. L. Carpenter and William Mountford of England, Rev. John H. Heywood of Louisville, Ky., Elder Humphrey of Dayton, Oh., and Rev. Mr. Stone of Providence, R. I. Original hymns were sung at intervals, and at the close Rev. Charles Brooks offered a motion, which was responded to, that the thanks of the company be presented to the committee, and that they be charged with their pleasant though arduous office for the next year. Considering that the occasion has lost its novelty, it must be regarded as well sustained.

Ministerial Conference at the Chapel of the Church of the Saviour. — The new arrangement for the conduct of this Conference went into effect this year, and resulted, as was hoped and desired, in securing order, economy of time, and a division of topics, while much confusion, heretofore encountered, was wholly avoided. A meeting was held for devotional exercises early in the morning, and at nine o'clock, the hour appointed, the Rev. F. A. Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., was called to the chair, the standing officers were reëlected, and the Rev. Mr. Burnap of Baltimore, Md., delivered an Address on the Importance of Systematic Theology and the Duty of the Unitarian Clergy in Relation to it. This address will appear in our next number. A brief discussion followed, and the Conferenee adjourned at one o'clock.

The Conference met again at three o'clock, and the Rev. W. H. Channing delivered an address, in which he presented his view of the Divine order of society, of which Jesus Christ is the exponent. The address was characterized by the genial spirit, the elevation, sincerity, and singleness of heart, which are uniformly manifested by the speaker; and while it gave proof of the intensity and the full conviction of his faith, it was unintelligible to some, and too imaginative and impracticable in the views of others even to excite the hope that its ideal would ever be realized amid these anxious and toiling scenes of human life.

The Conference was attended throughout the day by almost every one of the brethren, and the interest of the occasion in the afternoon drew in a few of the other sex, for the first time within our memory.

Sunday School Society. — The twenty-second anniversary of the Sunday School Society was observed on Wednesday evening, May 29, at the church in Federal Street. The President of the Society, the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, occupied the chair, and the Rev. Dr. Allen of Northborough opened the meeting with prayer. The singing, exclusively by a choir composed of children from our Sunday Schools, not only secured the presence of the objects of this Christian institution, but also gave to them an important part in the exercises. A great deal of effort and labor had been employed through the year by the Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Charles Brooks, by means of a circular addressed to each of our pastors and superintendents, to obtain elaborate statistics of our schools, with answers to a series of questions, all of a searching character and of much pertinence in regard to the operation, the instruction, and the prospects of these nurseries of our churches. The results and answers, contributed by the great majority of those to whom the circulars were sent, are embodied in the Report. While they will make that Report a very valuable document to those who shall see it in type, they were so extended and voluminous as necessarily to preclude the reading of any thing more than the merest abstract of it. This was so fragmentary as to afford but little of clear information. Gideon F. Thayer, Esq., read a brief report, which gave an account of the visits made by each of the agents of the Society to several Sunday Schools. Remarks were made by Manlius S. Clarke, Esq., a superintendent, and by Rev. Messrs. John H. Heywood of Louisville, Ky., William Mountford of England, and John H. Morison of Milton.

Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts. — The Convention assembled as usual, at five o'clock on the afternoon of Wednesday, May 29, in the Supreme Court-room, and the Rev. Professor Park of Andover, the preacher fort his year, acted as moderator, and opened the Convention with prayer. The usual business — the election of Scribe, Treasurer, and Auditor, with the hearing of their reports, the filling of vacancies in committees, and the appointment of new committees — having been transacted, the Scribe read a letter from the Rev. Dr. Frothingham, the first preacher in course for the next year, announcing that, as he had relinquished his pastoral office in the First Church, he had ceased to be a member of the Convention, and was, therefore, not qualified to officiate. A motion had been put in the docket by Rev. Barzillai Frost of Concord, proposing that all Congregational ministers in the State who had been ordained and settled for ten years, had sustained an unblemished character, and had not laid aside their profession, should be members of the Convention. The motion passed. By this rule, Dr. Frothingham remains still a member, and of course stands as preacher for next year. The Rev. Mr. Woodbridge of Hadley was chosen second preacher for next year.

The Convention Sermon was preached on Thursday morning, May 30, in the Brattle Street Church, by Rev. Professor Park. The church was most densely crowded, every seat and aisle and corner being occupied, while hundreds who had reached the doors were obliged to go away

disappointed. The preacher selected two texts, from which he proceeded to analyze and exhibit the material relations between the Theology of the Intellect and the Theology of the Feelings. These he maintained were entirely distinct, and might even seem discordant, but were both equally necessary to complete, interpret, and reconcile each the other, and to act together on mind, heart, and life. The sermon was a specimen of the very highest order of pulpit exercises. One of the most striking testimonies which could be given of the high demands and influence of our Congregational system, and of the high standard which it has set for itself and led the people to expect, is offered by these occasional sermons, which the more eminent of the preachers are called to present. Any thing like meagreness or mediocrity on such an occasion would be alike mortifying to the preacher and to his hearers.

Massachusetts Evangelical Missionary Society. — This Society aims to foster and keep alive, by moderate assistance from its funds, some few congregations of our communion in this Commonwealth that may need such aid. When it is considered that enterprise and business lead so many young persons to leave our country towns and seek the cities, it is not strange that our smaller parishes should occasionally require a little pecuniary help. The Hon. Richard Sullivan, who has presided over the Society for many years, having declined a reëlection, a vote of grateful thanks and respect was passed and addressed to him, and the Hon. Samuel A. Eliot was chosen President; Rev. Dr. Lowell, Vice-President; Rev. Chandler Robbins, Secretary; and Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., Treasurer.

Devotional Exercises. — Meetings for conference and prayer were held, on four of the days of Anniversary Week, at an early morning hour, in different churches. The attendance upon each was very large, and the interest of the exercises well sustained. The closing services of the week were held on Thursday evening, May 30, in the Federal Street Church. Rev. Wm. Stearns of Hingham preached a discourse from Ephesians vi. 13, and the Rev. Frederic A. Farley of Booklyn, N. Y., administered the Lord's Supper.

Ordinations. — Mr. Daniel W. Stevens, late of the Divinity School at Cambridge, was ordained pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Mansfield, on Wednesday, May 22. Introductory Prayer and Sermon by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury; Selections from the Scriptures and Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. Mr. Bridge of East Lexington; Prayer of Ordination by Rev. Professor Francis of Harvard University; Charge by Rev. Mr. Robinson of Medfield; Address to the Society by Rev. Mr. Kinsley of Mendon; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Mr. Merrick of Walpole.

Mr. Barber, a graduate of the Theological School at Meadville, was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church at Rowe, on Wednesday, June 12. Introductory Prayer and Selections from the Scriptures by Rev. C. Nightingale of Chicopee; Sermon by Rev. F. D. Huntington of Boston; Prayer of Ordination by Rev. J. Field of Charlemont; Charge by Rev. C. Lincoln of Fitchburg; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. G. F. Clark of Warwick; Address to the Society by Rev. Geo. F. Simmons of Springfield.

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

SEPTEMBER, 1850.

ART. I. — THE IMPORTANCE OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY, AND THE DUTY OF THE UNITARIAN CLERGY IN RELATION TO IT.

[An Address, read before the Ministerial Conference in Boston, May 29, 1850. By GEORGE W. BURNAP, D. D.]

THE arrangement which has been made to secure at least one address to this conference each year, on some theological subject, has my entire approbation. It seems to me to be demanded by our position, both as seekers and defenders of the truth as it is in Jesus. It is due to ourselves, not only as ministers of the Gospel, but as intellectual and studious men, already pledged by our ordination vows and our individual convictions, to devote our best powers to the promotion of theological science, the true knowledge of God, of Christ, of our duty, and our destiny. It is demanded of us by the position we occupy before the world. We have presumed to dissent from some of the leading dogmas of the great body of the Christian world, — to demolish, so to speak, the theological edifice which ages have been building up. Its scattered materials lie all about us. The world has a right to demand of us that we do not stop here. They have a right to ask of us that we reconstruct those materials; and, moreover, that we raise up a more perfect and beautiful structure than that which we pull down.

Short of this they will not be satisfied, and, moreover, they will hold us guilty of a species of sacrilege, in having destroyed that which we are unable to replace. The human mind demands something positive; it must have a system of theology; and if the sects of Protestantism cannot furnish one, it will go back blindfold into the Church of Rome, and learn by heart the scholastic dogmas of the Dark Ages.

I wish to impress upon the younger members of the clerical profession the necessity of the study of theology for their own sakes, for the growth, expansion, and discipline of their own minds. A clergyman's life, of all others, ought to be one of perpetual progress. His talents are given him, not that he may hide them in a napkin and bury them in the earth, but that they may be increased; the two talents must grow into two talents more, and he that hath five must not rest satisfied till he has added to them five talents besides. There is really no satisfactory reason why a clergyman should not go on to improve as long as he lives, or at least till his faculties are benumbed by the hebetude of old age.

But what do we too often see? A youth of promise succeeded by mediocrity in later years, — or, even worse than this, an actual decline of intellectual and moral power before the physical system gives any sign of decay. The years of academic life are usually marked by rapid advancement. An impetus is acquired which usually lasts for a considerable distance into professional life. Why is it not kept up? So we see a vessel launched. It slides down its artificial pathway, and enters upon its future element with a rush, not without clapping of hands and shouts of gratulation. But she is merely launched. That extraneous and artificial force which she gets but once, and never can renew, cannot suffice her for the shortest voyage. She has resistance to overcome; but, with neither sails to help her, nor the force of imprisoned elements to impel her on, her motion becomes less and less, till at last she stops, and idly dances on the waves, or floats back towards the shore. Such is the history of too many clergymen. In a few years their academic impetus is spent. They cease to make any new acquisitions; they even begin to lose the freshness of their original professional attainments, and be-

come incapable either of leading other minds, or maintaining that respect which is absolutely necessary to their usefulness in the Church. And why is this? The main cause is the abandonment of elementary studies. There is no growth of mind without these. The great reason why the years of academic life are marked by such rapid advancement is, that the mind is constantly exercised in elementary studies. The greatest proficients in music, those prodigies, as they are regarded by the world, who move whole cities by their coming, and hold multitudes as if bound by a spell of enchantment, pass a considerable part of each day in practising the gamut, and in making themselves familiar with the simplest principles of their art.

So in the graver pursuits of the clergyman, the indispensable condition of continued improvement is constant recurrence to elementary studies, — to theology, and those branches of knowledge and accomplishment which are subsidiary to it, metaphysics, ethics, Biblical criticism, and the classics. In order to grow, the mind must grapple with subjects which task its powers to the full, just as the athlete makes it a point of discipline to strain his muscles every day to their utmost capacity. He who abandons elementary studies necessarily ceases to grow. The clergyman is under strong temptations to do this. He finds it an easier and more agreeable employment to read reviews and miscellaneous literature. He may satisfy his conscience with this apology for mental application, but it produces on him the inevitable effect of weakening his powers, and incapacitating his mind for taking broad, deep, original, or thorough views of any thing. With such habits, if he do not dwindle, he will not advance. But the probability is, that the mischief will not stop here. Nothing is easier than for a clergyman to waste a day in pursuits apparently literary and legitimate, but which are in fact useless, if not pernicious. And how many days are thus wasted in desultory employments, in mere dread and aversion of the tug and toil of real study, of thorough investigation, of original thought, of patient elaboration! But things may even wax worse. Reviews and light literature may become too heavy and laborious, and the academical alumnus may round his literary career by reading the daily and

weekly newspapers, and content himself in the pulpit with ringing changes on Scripture phraseology. My brethren, unless I greatly deceive myself, we in our day and generation are called to lead a life totally different from this. God has cast our lot in an age in which the inducements to theological study are more intense than ever existed before. The angel of truth is now at last unbound. Religious knowledge may now make more progress in one year than it could in a century a thousand years ago. The total severance of church and state has withdrawn the frown of temporal powers from the honest seeker for God's truth. We belong to a division of Christ's fold who have dared to throw ourselves back on the teachings of our Master, and to hold ourselves answerable only to the written word, as it is known and read of all men.

With this entire freedom, we are endeavouring to construct theology anew. If any thing can be real in the position we occupy, it is this, — *our mission is theological reform.* It is to free Christianity from the accretions of fifteen hundred years, to discriminate its true elements from Judaism on the one hand, and Paganism on the other, — from the subtilties of the schoolmen and from the profane adulterations of philosophical speculation, — from the slavery of dead forms and from that ultra-spiritualism which denies the necessity of any. This, then, let me repeat it, is, in my judgment, the mission of the Unitarian body at the present hour. It is theological reform. And how are we to fulfil it? I know the answer I should receive from too large a number of those who bear our name. "Let things take their own course. Let theology take care of itself. When the world is ready for better views, it will get them without our instrumentality." I reply, that this would be a most pusillanimous abandonment of a noble position and a noble cause. For what have we been contending for the last thirty years? Why did we form a separate organization? Was it not for the assertion and maintenance of great and important principles, and are not those principles theological? Have we not said, over and over again, that we deem these principles vital to our welfare and the welfare of society? Shall we pause here, take back all we have said, shrink away from the issue we have made, and abandon theology to take care of itself?

We *must have* a theology, — a systematic, positive theology. We want it for ourselves, we want it for those who are without. The laws of the human mind demand it. They demand a theology which shall cover the whole ground, which shall be consistent with itself, which shall be consistent with the Scriptures, which will explain the Scriptures, and which reason does not reject. No cause can be strong without a clear and explicit statement of principles; and no cause can be strong without principles capable of a clear and explicit statement. "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle." An army must have a standard which represents great truths, or symbolizes great objects, or it will be inspired by no enthusiasm and act with no efficiency.

We want a systematic theology for ourselves. The generation which established our churches were necessarily acquainted with our theology. They knew its distinctive doctrines; they knew, too, the doctrines to which they were opposed. It was their deliberate preference of the one to the other, which led them to seek a separate organization. They are now passing off the stage. Their children must adopt our faith, not as they did, by controversy, but by education. Now nothing can be well taught which is not reduced to a system. The faiths now subsisting have an immense advantage in this particular. They are systematized and condensed into manuals of every size and adaptation, from the ponderous quarto down to the thinnest catechism. Millions of these are printed and distributed every year. In this way, millions of children are furnished at an early age with a theology elaborated and adjusted by the combined skill and acuteness of hundreds of successive thinkers, reasoners, and writers. The whole Bible has been explained in accordance with these different systems, and, as an unavoidable consequence, the language of Scripture ever after seems to them to speak the sentiments which have thus been early associated with it, and thus theological systems are handed down from age to age, not because they are true, but because they are reduced to a system, and taught systematically, as embodying the very substance and essence of the Scriptures. And what have we to oppose to all this? Absolutely nothing.

It would seem that we are either too timid, too indolent, or too undecided, or, still worse, too indifferent, to have a theology.

We want a theology for those who are without the pale of our faith. It is a reproach universally cast upon us, that our faith is a negative one, that our creed consists of articles of unbelief. We ourselves know that this is not true. Christianity is a *faith*, a belief, not an unbelief. If it is not a faith, something to be believed, it is nothing. We preach, we strive to affect the *convictions* of mankind, — of course we preach something that is to be believed. What is that something? I have charity enough to think that the world really wishes to know what that something is. We are united in one body, we preach alike, or at least men say we do, and we act together. We exchange pulpits, and our own people do not discern any important variation of doctrine. What are the doctrines we preach? — this is the very thing which the world wishes to know, and which it is for their good and ours that they should know.

To place ourselves, then, right before the world, to remove the reproach of teaching mere negations, and of laying out our whole strength in showing men what they are to *reject*, we must have a theology, a systematic, affirmative theology, — one which will be consistent with the Scriptures, which will explain the Scriptures, and at the same time be deep enough and spiritual enough to sound all the depths of religious experience.

I have said that we must have a systematic theology. I assert this from my own conviction and from personal experience. Placed in a state of isolation for more than twenty years, I have been often led to look at our faith from without, and have heard every possible objection which can be brought against it. There is in this country, very generally diffused, a knowledge of the Scriptures, and of different theological systems, with the exception of our own. So much is this the case, that the most illiterate, on hearing a theological doctrine advanced, are able immediately to recur to those texts of Scripture which seem to be inconsistent with it. The texts which seem to be inconsistent with our faith must be explained, and the explanation must be made accessible to the great mass of the people. Short of this, our doc-

trines cannot obtain a very wide reception. Metaphysical systems and opinions, too, are involved in theology, and are discussed by people of the commonest education, with no small amount of ingenuity and acuteness. In fact, the subject of religion is so intensely interesting to every human being, that every man who thinks at all is more or less a theologian. This being the case, I hold it to be self-evident that our doctrines can have no secure basis, and our cause no assured progress and establishment in the world, without an elaborated theology, which is shown by fair explanation to express the true meaning of the sacred oracles. So long as a single text remains unexplained, more stress will be laid upon it than upon a hundred plain texts of an opposite bearing, and all antecedent probabilities on the other side.

But it may be asked, How shall we get such a theology? I answer, by studying theology, and by every man's contributing something according to his peculiar talent, taste, and inclination. Theology must rise as the wall did about Jerusalem, by every man's building over against his own house. No one mind is capable of doing it all, but many minds are capable of doing it, and then one mind may digest the whole into a consistent system.

But some, I am aware, may be held back by an undefined apprehension that it is dangerous to study theology. The theological inquirer is in imminent peril of dashing against the Scylla of Rationalism on the one hand, or of being swallowed up by the Charybdis of Transcendentalism on the other.

Let us examine this matter. What is Rationalism, that we should have such a dread of it? and what is Transcendentalism, that we should imagine it so dangerous? Perhaps we may find that we are all Rationalists, and all Transcendentalists, and all no less Christians at the same time.

Rationalism professes to be the result of the examination of the claims of Christianity to our belief and allegiance as a supernatural communication from God, *by reason*, or the essential laws of the human mind. In Germany, it has assumed the form of a species of philosophy, which begins by denying the *possibility* of a supernatural revelation, and, of course, the validity of any

evidence that can be brought forward to prove that any such has ever been made. Of this species of Rationalism I do not think that we, on this side of the Atlantic, are in much danger. We say, that, under this view of things, the very word Rationalism is a *petitio principii*, an assumption of the question in dispute. It assumes that it is *irrational* to believe any thing supernatural. All belief in Christianity, of course, must be idolatry and superstition. The Anglo-Saxon mind, in my judgment, will never be brought to acquiesce in any such logical fallacy as this.

About a century ago, Hume proposed nearly the same thesis to the English people, with the slightest possible success. Half a century earlier, John Locke, a man somewhat greater than David Hume, published a treatise in England on "The Reasonableness of Christianity, as revealed in the Scriptures." The judgment of the English and American people has hitherto been, that John Locke is right, and his reasoning conclusive; that David Hume is wrong, and his reasoning sophistical.

The other phasis of Rationalism is, that, admitting the possibility of both revelation and miracle, a candid examination of the Bible leads to the rejection of that part of the Scripture which contains a record of either. This is an open and a fair question, which every inquirer must meet and settle for himself. But there is nothing new or startling in it. Its examination makes a part of every thorough theological education. It comes up for reëxamination in the mind of every clergyman, from time to time, as long as he lives. There is not a clergyman in Christendom who does not act on rationalistic principles every day of his life, — even those who are considered to abandon themselves most entirely to authority. The fact is, that reason and faith are two principles in the human mind not antagonistic to each other, but which God hath joined together, and which can never be divorced. There is nothing which any man professes to believe, concerning which the question may not be immediately asked, *Why* do you believe it? That is to say, What *reason* have you for believing it? If he can give no reason, what he professes to believe is justly considered to rest on no better foundation than mere credulity or superstition. Reason is placed by God as the sentinel

at the entrance of the mind, to decide what is to be admitted into it as truth, and what is to be rejected. Man's safety and welfare demand that this sentinel should faithfully perform his duty; and it is as dangerous to admit into the mind that which is false, as to reject that which is true. Any thing which presents itself under the garb of a revelation cannot legitimately be permitted to escape the scrutiny of this sentinel, merely because it professes to be a revelation. All theologians act on this principle, and use their reason in the examination of doctrines which others profess to find in the language of Scripture. All theologians are Rationalists to this extent, that they make reason to be at least coördinate with Scripture, inasmuch as they reject on the ground of reason the literal sense of the Scripture, and adopt another because it is reconcilable with reason. The Catholic rejects the literal meaning of the words of Scripture on the ground of its repugnance to reason. Christ says that he is the vine, and the disciples are the branches. But the Catholic does not believe that this was literally a fact. Upon the authority of reason he rejects the literal meaning of Scripture. In so far he is a Rationalist. The Protestant, on the strength of reason, rejects the literal meaning of Christ's assertion, "This is my body." It is a first principle of reason and common sense, that nothing can be at the same time itself and something else. So the Unitarian rejects the doctrine of the Trinity, not only because it is not found in the Scriptures, but because reason teaches that it is a metaphysical and a mathematical impossibility. Three persons, who are each and all identical with one and the same Being, must be identical with each other. If the doctrines of the Bible were made up of such contradictions and inconsistencies, it would be impossible for the human mind to receive it as containing a revelation from God. Such rationalism as this is not only legitimate, but necessary. The Church and the world would now have been in a much better condition than they are, if more of such Rationalism had prevailed a long time ago. A proper application of reason to the interpretation of Scripture would have saved us from innumerable difficulties in which the cause of Christianity is now involved.

And now it is wholly useless to think of stopping the

progress of Rationalism. It must run its course, and sweep away every thing which human reason cannot admit, even if it sweeps away the whole; for, as I have already said, reason is the sentinel which God has placed at the entrance of the human mind, to decide what shall be admitted and what shall be shut out.

But then there is another side to this matter. Reason, as the sentinel of the human mind, may overact his part. It is not the duty of a sentinel to shut out every thing. It is as much his duty to suffer that to pass which has a right to go in, as to exclude that which ought not to be permitted to enter. God has so constituted the world, and so constructed our minds, that absolute knowledge is not the *only* basis of action. We are obliged to act, not upon certainties alone, but upon *probabilities*. The sphere of absolute knowedge is not very extensive. It is confined to those things for which we have the evidence of the senses, of consciousness, of memory, and of mathematical demonstration. For all beyond this we must rely on another species of evidence, that of probability. This constitutes the region of *faith*. Now it is the especial province of reason to judge of probabilities. In this region lie all the records of the past, and of course, among the rest, the records of revelation. All future events, too, are included in the same category. There is an inconceivable mass of probabilities, which approach so near to certainties, that we act upon them every day as though they were certainties. We should feel ourselves to be ridiculous, absurd, *irrational*, were we to refuse to do so. There are, then, innumerable cases in which it is more irrational to shut out probabilities than to receive them. The case, therefore, may be, that true Rationalism may lead to the *reception* of the supernatural, instead of to its rejection.

Among the records of the past have come down to us the books of the New Testament, containing accounts of the supernatural. They contain, too, intermingled with the miraculous, accounts of the natural and historical, which bear the impress of truth and reality so strongly, that no man can deny them without casting aside all history, and launching forth into the sea of universal skepticism. The historical and the natural, which cannot be denied, prove beyond question the belief of those

who could not but have known the truth in the actual occurrence of the supernatural. Is it most rational to believe that these witnesses were deceived, or that the supernatural actually took place? That is the question.

But there is nothing new or startling in all this. There is no new difficulty discovered, unknown to all former generations, no new argument, unthought of and unanswered by those who have gone before us. The deism of Paulus and Bauer and Strauss is no stranger than the deism of Hobbes, Wollaston, and Tom Paine, and the speculations of Kant and Hegel can never be half as dangerous in this country as those of Hume and Gibbon. In fact, the skepticism we get from Germany is nothing more than the English skepticism of the last century filtered through the mud, or distorted by the idealism, of German metaphysics.

Let Rationalism, then, go on and do its work. It doubtless has its mission in the arrangements of Providence. Let it examine the whole subject of religion and the Bible anew. Such a storm will purify the whole theological atmosphere. It is time that this matter were searched into by the light of the nineteenth century. What is sound will be retained, what is unsound or extraneous will be cast away. Let Christianity be cross-examined by its enemies, and if there is truth in it, it will come out. Let Rationalism dig about the foundations of Christianity as much as it pleases, it will soon come down to the solid, living, everlasting rock of Christ, — his history, his character, his teaching. Taking the record as it is, and the events as they are related, some men have thought that nothing could explain them but the supposition that Jesus was Jehovah himself come down out of heaven. It is difficult to conceive that any considerable number will ever acquiesce in a hypothesis which makes him somewhat less than a wise and good man. Let every possible view of the Scriptures be stated and tried, and if there be any capacity in the human mind to perceive and appreciate the truth, the truth will be discovered and embraced; and if there be no such power, then it matters not much what opinions prevail in the world.

And what is Transcendentalism, that the theological scholar should be deterred by it from a thorough investi-

gation of religion and the Bible? As applied to our faith, it amounts to this, — that Christianity is nothing more nor less than a particular development of natural religion, — that every human mind and heart contain in their own elements all there is in Christianity, and a great deal more, — that the idea of a special revelation carries absurdity on the very face of it; that the mind has faculties to receive knowledge only according to the natural laws of its own operations, and that, of course, knowledge supernaturally conveyed cannot be received nor comprehended nor mingled with knowledge derived from other sources, — it cannot be assured to another person, nor made the basis of speculation, action, or expectation. In short, revelation would be an anomaly, standing abstract and alone, inapplicable to life and useless to mankind. Moreover, it cannot be essential to man as a religious being, or it would have been communicated to all.

Those who advocate this view of things are continually discoursing to us about *intuition*, — a mode of obtaining knowledge more immediate, accurate, and unerring than any other, whose special object is the *absolute*. Let us analyze this phraseology, and see whether there be any thing new, important, or enlightening in it. Intuition, if it mean any thing to the purpose, must mean *certain knowledge*. Intuition, if it be an essential power of the human mind, must be *universal*. If this intuition extend to the essential matters of religion, it must of course render revelation unnecessary. But, to answer this description, it must be the same in all, and produce a uniformity of religious belief all the world over. *Is* there such a uniformity of belief, even in regard to the fundamental principle of all religion, — the unity of God? And if intuition has failed in this most important particular, then it fails of being that which is claimed for it, — an infallible guide in religious matters.

Let us add another word to the somewhat unintelligible phrase, "the absolute," and say, the *absolute truth*, and much imposing mystery will be dissipated, and we shall gain a clear, though a very common and useful idea. Absolute truth necessarily exists, but it is known to the mind of God alone. All other minds possess only an approximation to it, and only so far as it has pleased God to communicate it to them. And for that approxi-

mation to truth, they have only the evidence of probability, not of certainty. God alone has the evidence of certainty. To man, then, the absolute has no existence. It exists only to God. That the convictions which exist in the human mind relative to religion do not come within the province of the absolute, is sufficiently shown by the fact, that mankind have united in applying to them the term *faith*, that is, something to be *believed*, — to be received upon the authority, not of *absolute knowledge*, but of *probable evidence*.

The province of intuition, or of absolute knowledge, in religious matters, if there be such a province, cannot be very extensive. It cannot go much farther than the single conviction, that there is a difference between right and wrong. This conviction has the mark of being an intuition that it is universal, and cannot be denied. But even here an uncertainty immediately commences, as to what things are to be considered as right and wrong.

But in order to speak wisely, well, and profitably of Transcendentalism, it is necessary to do it justice. We must acknowledge all there is in it that is good and true. In a certain sense, we are all Transcendentalists. We all acknowledge reason as coördinate with revelation, in making known to us the will of God. We all, at least as many as listen to me to-day, confess to the existence of such a thing as natural religion. It is, in fact, the condition and the basis of revealed religion. No mere words could assure us of the existence of a God, were there not a creation and a providence to make him known. The Bible itself has a transcendental element in it. It does not profess to be the only means of knowing God, or of ascertaining his character and will. It makes human reason to be coördinate with itself as the means of Divine manifestation. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge." The Apostle declares, — "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." Our Saviour says, — "Even of yourselves, judge ye not what is right?" The Apostle says in another place, — "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest,

whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." The definition of a righteous man before God, given in the Old Testament, is, "one that has done that which is lawful and *right*." All this is, to a certain extent, transcendental; that is to say, it appeals to the intuition in man, if there be any such thing as intuition, and makes it of equal authority, as a source of knowledge and guidance, with revelation.

Miracles themselves must be a less and less convincing revelation of God, and proof of his existence and providence, than the grand, the wise, the permanent order and laws of nature which miracles violate. A revelation must be a less manifestation of God's power and wisdom than those faculties, that intellectual and moral constitution, which God has made capable of receiving and comprehending a revelation. It is a much greater work for God to give us being, and a world to live in, than a book to live by. All preaching is, in a certain sense, transcendental. Every preacher speaks, not only from the inspiration of the Bible, but from that inspiration which giveth all men understanding. He deems it his duty to communicate all the moral and religious truth that he knows. He does not stop to inquire whether he derived it from the language of the Scriptures, — from the writings of those men who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, — or from his own meditations upon them, or from profane literature, or from his own experience. It is sufficient for him that he knows it, or thinks it, to be truth. Every thing that is true and practical is important, let the knowledge of it come from what source it may.

All listeners to preaching are more or less transcendental, for they receive into their minds that which seems to them to be true, making little discrimination between that which the preacher derives from the language of Scripture, and that which he suggests from his own mind. But both preachers and hearers pay this homage to the inspiration of the Scriptures, that they both confess that the most common and universal truths are better expressed in the Scriptures than they are anywhere else.

The hymns that are sung in our churches are tran-

scendental, inasmuch as the sentiments expressed in them, and adopted by the worshipper, are not exclusively derived from the Scriptures, but are derived from the experience, the emotions, and the reflections of Christians of modern times, since the days of miraculous suggestion are passed. But even the history of sacred poetry bears strong testimony to the supernatural character of the New Testament. We see a constant advancement in moral elevation and in doctrinal purity from the first to the present hour. Yet no one will say, that the best of our hymns transcend, or even equal, the New Testament. That must have been of supernatural origin which rose so far above the moral level of the world, as it then was, that eighteen hundred years of advancement have not yet lifted up the most exalted minds to the same level, though in the enjoyment of all the influences of the Scriptures themselves, in addition to that inspiration which speaks in every mind and heart.

All interpretation of the Bible is in a measure transcendental. On the strength of that inspiration which giveth all men understanding, the expositor of the Scriptures undertakes to say what the words of revelation can and cannot mean. He comes to such a passage as this, — "If any man come unto me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife, and children, and brothers and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple," — and he decides that the literal meaning cannot be the true meaning. He has such a trust in his own moral sense, that he feels justified in rejecting the literal meaning of Scripture, and in putting a meaning on it which will harmonize with the revelation which God has previously made to every human heart. I have said, that the Bible is transcendental, because it refers to the reason and moral sense of mankind as coördinate with itself, as an expression of the Divine will. It is so for another and stronger reason. Most Christians read the Bible only in translation. Revelation did not form and give meaning to the words in which a common Christian reads the Bible. Those words were formed by the reason, the moral sense, and the religious convictions of uninspired men, and can express the meaning of revelation only so far as they are coincident with it. The language in which the New Testament was written was formed by half-civilized men

on the islands and the shores of Greece, and yet all the sublime teachings of Christ are conveyed to us in the words invented beyond the reach of supernatural illumination. This fact alone is sufficient demonstration that natural revelation is coincident with supernatural, as far as it goes, and that what is called revelation consists in a higher development, a clearer statement, and an authoritative promulgation, of those truths of which all mankind have an imperfect apprehension, and a conviction clouded by more or less doubt.

But having made these concessions to the Transcendentalist, here I stop. I cannot go on with him to assert, that the unaided powers of man produced the Bible just as it is. I refuse to adopt his hypothesis, because in my judgment the Bible transcends Transcendentalism itself. It is admitted that Christ taught the absolute religion. Is not this a transcendental fact? Does it not go beyond all the recorded achievements of unaided humanity? This is acknowledged on all hands. How are we to account for it? Christ himself, who must have known the facts of the case, declares that he was supernaturally aided by God. "My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me." "For I have not spoken of myself, but the Father which sent me, he gave a commandment what I should say and what I should speak." In a solemn prayer to God he said, — "I have given them the words which thou gavest me." Here is certainly an adequate cause assigned, by him who best knew, of the transcendent wisdom of the Saviour. There is certainly nothing absurd, nothing contradictory, and, to my mind, nothing irrational, in the account which Jesus gives of the source of his doctrines.

All knowledge comes ultimately from God. Every operation of our minds is superintended by him. His omnipresent energy sustains the power of thought each moment. Our minds are as accessible to his immediate action, as they are to that which he exercises through second causes. If God exists, and has knowledge and a will, it is as easy for him to communicate to the mind a certain knowledge of his existence, his will and purposes to man, as to give us a certain knowledge of each other through the senses. He may make that which is to us now *faith* to become *certain knowledge*. And this

is precisely the knowledge which Christ professed miraculously to possess. "We speak that *we do know*, and testify that we have seen." "The only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." Christ's whole conduct was in keeping with this profession. He assumed and sustained the bearing and dignity of an especial messenger from God, the authorized teacher of mankind. If we may believe Christ's assertion, that which to us seems *probable* to him was *certain*. There is no way, that I can see, in which he can be brought down to our level, but by impeaching his veracity, or denying his wisdom, or casting doubt on the historic verity of his life. There is no way of exalting us to a level with him, without bridging over the chasm which in our minds separates the *probable* from the *certain*. There is no phraseology of intuitions, or the absolute, or any other metaphysical mysticism, of which such a bridge can be constructed.

The great question between the Transcendentalist and the Supernaturalist, the Deist and the Christian, is this: — Did Jesus KNOW any thing of God and of the realities of the spiritual world, in a sense which made them absolutely certain, or are his sayings mere probabilities, and of course only his *opinions?* In the one case, we have *doctrines* to be taught upon authority, and in the other, only mere *speculations*, to be accepted or rejected as each one sees fit.

Is there any thing, then, in Transcendentalism so exceedingly dangerous, that the Christian minister is to be deterred by it from the study of the Bible? I, for one, think its danger has been greatly overrated. It has not in this country as yet obtained a logical statement, much less a logical defence. It has not as yet solved its first problem. It professes to discard the miraculous from the New Testament as unhistoric, yet receives much of it as true and authentic. In order to define its position, and have a distinct, substantive existence, it must carry out its analysis, and tell us what we are to accept and what we are to reject. It must give us an expurgated Gospel, or the Gospel according to Transcendentalism. Thomas Jefferson proposed this work to himself, to "sift apart," to use his phraseology, the historic from the unhistoric parts of the New Testament, as an employment

for some of his leisure hours. He afterwards had abundance of leisure, but the thing was never done. Strauss attempted this feat in Germany, but his work by all parties was acknowledged to be a failure. In this country, as yet, we have had no clear statement of the Transcendental hypothesis, no reasoning about it, but merely a rhapsodical declamation here and there, about as conclusive as Burke's ironical argument against all the institutions of civil society. Some few have been blinded for a while by a cloudy mysticism, or dazzled by a brilliant rhetoric, into an admiration for they could not tell exactly what; but most of them have been brought to their senses again by the calm, deep wisdom, the stainless integrity, the tender love, the unaffected piety, and the awful majesty of Jesus of Nazareth.

Hitherto the blows of Transcendentalism have told, not on Christianity, but on Protestantism. Deism can sustain no church. It never built a church, and never can. It requires faith to build churches. If it could get possession of all Protestant churches to-morrow, it would only be to hand them over to the Church of Rome, and make her the grave, as she has been the womb, of all Protestant denominations.

But is Transcendentalism an unmixed evil? Is it merely destructive in its tendencies? Has it no mission for good in the arrangements of Providence? It may be, I believe, under wise management, made to exert a corrective and conservative influence upon Christianity and the Church. Being itself an extravagance, it may operate to correct an opposite extravagance, which has been too prevalent in the Christian world,—an idolatry of the Bible and a contempt for man. For certainly there is a wide difference between believing that man made the Bible, and that the Bible is necessary to create man. It is equally extravagant to maintain that there is nothing divine in man, and to maintain that there is nothing human in the Bible. Equal mischief follows from making too much or too little of the Scriptures, and it is as fatal to religion and morality to make man a deity as a devil. The truth must lie between these two extremes, and perhaps it is necessary for the human mind to vibrate like a pendulum between the two for a while before it will settle in the truth. If the two extremes could

be brought to discuss the subject calmly and dispassionately together, they might mutually correct each other's errors, and the world be edified by the controversy. This, however, in the present state of feeling, cannot be, and the task of reconciliation falls on us, who imagine that we occupy the true and middle ground.

Superadded to these momentous questions, which are coming up among Protestants, and between Protestants and Deists, there are the fundamental questions between Protestants and the Church of Rome. Immense immigration is daily giving an importance to the Catholic Church in this country, wholly unanticipated by our ancestors. There are, and always have been, men in that Church of great learning, intellectual acuteness, and dialectic dexterity. Their literary enterprise and activity have been greatly quickened by a migration to this country of railroads, steam-engines, and telegraphs. And there is no antagonist who makes so strong a draught on the theological attainments of his adversary, as a well-trained and truly learned Catholic. Under these circumstances, is it safe for us to suffer theology to decline among us? Is there any way in which we can so effectually break our force, and render ourselves impotent and insignificant? We must be, for a long time to come, from the very position we occupy, a church militant. A thorough theological training, kept up through life, will be to us just what weapons and discipline are to an army. They make us superior to multitudes without them. If we abandon them, we ourselves become an easy prey. Whatever may be thought in this good city of Boston, the controversial age of our denomination is by no means passed. That we enjoy comparative peace, we owe entirely to the fact of our comparative numerical insignificance. The word is passed from time to time, all over the country, that Unitarianism is dying out, and it is thought hardly worth while to reason down or to write down a denomination which never gets up. Any rapid growth on our part would cause a reaction against us as fierce and bitter as that which created the Inquisition.

I end, then, as I began, by commending the study of systematic theology, as demanded of us especially, by our position, and by the wants of the age. It is the only

thing that can give us, as individuals and as a denomination, strength, assurance, and influence. It is the only thing which can give us the control we ought to exercise over the opinions and the character of this great country in the coming ages, when this vast continent shall be overspread by a population as dense as Asia, and the English tongue shall be spoken by more millions than ever were united by one language under heaven.

Art. II. — MAHOMET THE PROPHET OF ARABIA, AND BONIFACE THE APOSTLE OF GERMANY.*

The appearance of the two works whose titles we give below has revived the interest excited a few years ago, by Carlyle's brilliant Lecture, in the career of the Arabian prophet. Heretofore, our best available authorities have been a brief but well-written sketch in the Family Library "History of Arabia," and Bush's "Life of Mohammed," a rather feeble and unsatisfactory volume of the same series. Gibbon's chapter is too condensed to be properly biographical, though bearing abundant marks of his strong hand as an historian, and of his assiduous muck-rake as annotator; and the old-fashioned libels of Prideaux, and others of that school, are of service only as curiosities.

The field was clearly open for a fresh popular narrative, such as Mr. Irving has undertaken to give. The public judgment decides that he has done it acceptably and well. He has made faithful use, not only of the sources open to him in Spain, but of other recent contributions to the literature of the subject. But we are inclined to join in the disappointment which has been elsewhere expressed, "that no fresh circumstances are brought to light, which are weighty enough to form the cardinal points of a new estimate of Mohammed's char-

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* 1. *Mahomet and his Successors.* By Washington Irving. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1850. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 373, 500.

2. *The Life and Religion of Mohammed, as contained in the Sheedh Traditions of the Hyát-ul-Kuloob.* Translated from the Persian, by James L. Merrick. Boston: Phillips & Sampson. 1850. 8vo. pp. 483.

acter and position."* A large addition has been made to the stores of personal anecdote. The fabulous parts of the narrative are selected and introduced with great felicity. A few chapters of pleasant gossip have been added. The group of the companions and successors of the Prophet has been drawn in altogether new distinctness of color and outline. But one finds comparatively little of substantial value in the new material so industriously gathered. The characteristic merit of the work is from other qualities than that of vigor in conception, or suggestiveness of thought. In the second volume, especially, it has struck us that the author was encumbered with his materials; and we miss such things as we find in the bold, rapid narrative of Gibbon, or the filling out of the sketch offered in a chapter of Sismondi or in a paragraph of Carlyle. One regrets, too, that the account stops short of the most interesting period. For a good history of the Spanish conquest we must still wait. None that we have seen is fully worthy of the subject. And we shall look impatiently for the third volume, which Mr. Irving has intimated he may yet prepare, covering a region and a period peculiarly his own.

As the value of Mr. Irving's work is popular, so that of Mr. Merrick's is literary and scholastical. It is a sort of abridged Mahometan Talmud, with all the garniture of fable which Eastern fancy and superstition have heaped upon the plain story of the Prophet. It is a schedule of mythical curiosities, containing the most singular and out-of-the-way scraps of information, and the most astonishing array of marvels. No less than fifty detailed miracles are enumerated gravely in a single list; and seven such lists make up the contents of a single chapter. History becomes as wavering and fantastical as the dreams of the Arabian Nights. There is a sober, statistical manner in relating the overwhelming array of prodigies, and a placid unconsciousness of irony or scandal in adopting what looks like the grossest style of satiric humor, quite refreshing by way of contrast to the rationalistic and ethical habits so pertinacious in the Western mind. The work has served us only very incidentally, and we are of course

* Prospective Review, Vol. II. p. 165, in an article on Dr. Weil's "Mohammed der Prophet,"—a work (which Mr. Irving has both used and cited) containing the results of the most recent and thorough researches.

unprepared to say any thing critically of its merit. A recent notice in this journal makes any such criticism the less needed. With these two books before us, together with a very convenient and fully annotated reprint of Sale's Koran, recently published in Philadelphia, we have, in a convenient form, what we most require for a study of the two sides of Mahomet's career,—as affecting the destinies of the West, and the intellect of the East.

Our present plan leads us to look wholly at the former. Our purpose is to sketch briefly those events by which the Saracen invasion connects itself with the history of Christian Europe; and in so doing we shall use these authorities, and any thing else on which we can lay our hands. The period we are to review is that assigned as the end of the first, and the beginning of the second division of the Middle Ages. The time of barbarian conquest was over; that of concentration and reorganization was just beginning. It was a time when the Christian world rallied its strength, and stood upon the defensive. The mighty struggle began then, which was renewed in the great "defensive" campaigns of the Crusaders, continued in the fifteenth century at Constantinople, and in the seventeenth on the plains of Hungary, and may be presently terminated in the final extinction of the Ottoman power. It was one of the critical periods in the destinies of Europe. The great Christian organization, having its centre in Rome, suddenly developed an unsuspected strength; and the imminent perils of the time were its providential opportunity.

This period almost precisely spans the interval between two events of capital importance in ecclesiastical history. The conversion of the Saxons in England, begun under Gregory the Great by Augustine, and that of the German tribes, completed under Zachary by Boniface, a hundred and fifty years later, were the two greatest triumphs of the Roman Church in Western Europe. England and Germany, those great and kindred nations, most forward afterwards to declare their independence at the era of the Reformation, were at first the most loyal and submissive of all to the central authority at Rome. Others were sister-churches, and in some sense equal. That was a voluntary homage which they paid to Rome; and they would often act in the spirit of a cer-

tain national independence. These were daughter-churches, and acknowledged the duty of obedience. The archbishops of England were appointed by the Roman pontiff; and the first oath of allegiance taken to him as spiritual sovereign was by the martyr-apostle of Germany. Some of the most important facts of modern history resulted from this position of things. The rise of the Papal power, as one of the great state powers, dates from about this time. It was in part the growth of causes whose discussion belongs to an earlier chapter of the Christian annals; but its rapid ripening, and the great prominence henceforth assumed by it, are to be ascribed to many things working together at the period we are about to review. Of these the chief causes ecclesiastically were those just named; the chief politically were the Saracen invasion, threatening Europe on the east and west, together with the firm stand taken and the important position gained by Charles Martel, chief of the Franks and champion of Christendom.

When Gregory the Great had been dead five years (A. D. 609), Mahomet, then forty years old, began to give himself out for a prophet of God. Gaining at first for disciples only his wife and a few personal friends, rejected, ridiculed, persecuted, for thirteen years, and finally forced to fly for his life, this extraordinary man, by ten years more of fervid preaching and military campaigns, succeeded in binding those wild desert tribes together in the league of an invincible and enthusiastic faith. And when he died (A. D. 632), that faith was on the eve of the most sudden and astonishing career of conquest ever known.

The religion of Mahomet, looked at critically, is a curious compound of local traditions and superstitions, with stray fragments gathered from Christians and Jews. The Koran embodies, in its own fashion, a handsome share of the narrative of both dispensations, including the apocryphal traditions of the "Infancy." Arabia, to a great portion of mankind, is holy ground. In the northwest stands Mount Sinai, its rugged summit scorched and blackened by the awful presence of Jehovah. The rock where, at the word of Moses, water gushed forth for his fainting people, — the well Zemzem, which the angel showed to Hagar when their great fore-

father, Ishmael, was perishing with thirst,—the holy stone, which they say came down from heaven,—are visited and pointed out with devout reverence by the Arab tribes. The simple theism of the patriarchal times had become blended with numerous gross and hostile superstitions. The Kaaba, in the sacred city Mecca, still gathered the people, as of old, to its accustomed rites; but its three hundred and sixty idols were so many monuments of the conflicting elements in the popular faith, which alienated the tribes from the spirit of the ancient time, and made them strangers and enemies to one another.

Among them Mahomet came in the character of a religious reformer. For a whole month each year, during fifteen years, he had been accustomed to dwell alone in a mountain cave, where he fed his fancy with dreams and visions, and nurtured that mystic enthusiasm which was part of his native temperament. And it is by no means hard to suppose that he may have interpreted his own fancies, stimulated by prayer and the action of a heated, perhaps distempered, brain,* into a real commission from Heaven to oppose the rude idolatry of the time, and declare the doctrine of one only God. He was gifted with an enthusiastic and burning eloquence, which with the Arabs passes for a divine gift. "No mortal man," they think, "unless inspired, could wield the vast fabric of their language." † And though Mahomet had never learned to read or write, yet what he gave out from time to time as the successive revelations of God was allowed, says Sale, to be unrivalled by any poets or orators in that tongue.

The Koran, at least as transposed into a modern idiom, might seem the product of an ignorant rhapsodical enthusiasm; and, like that, it startles one sometimes with strains of genuine poetry and eloquence. This book was the only miracle which he claimed. The composition of it he defied to be equalled or approached by any human author; angels had tried in vain to produce a single chapter to match its matchless fabric; ‡ and it remains to this day an open question among the faithful,

* Mr. Irving (Vol. I. p. 61) vindicates, after Weil, the old story of his being subject to fits of epilepsy.

† Murphy, Mohammedan Empire in Spain.

‡ Life and Religion, p. 108.

whether that stupendous production has an absolute self-existence, "very light of very light," or whether it was only created before every creature, and deposited in the lower heavens to be revealed in its time.

To all threats and opposition the new prophet had but one reply. "Though the sun should stand on my right hand, and the moon on my left, and command me to desist, yet I serve a higher than the sun and moon, and will not hear them." "What are your gods," said he to the idolaters, "but stocks of black wood? They are dumb and blind. Smear them with wax, and the flies stick to them. Can these gods help you?" And once, when flying for his life with a single companion, who trembled because they were only two, "You forget," said he, "there is a third with us, God, who is stronger than they all." This fervid religious fanaticism was a chief element of his success. And there were two things beside (characteristic of every skilful leader of men) which added very much to his motive power,— his humoring as he did the temper of the men he had to deal with, and the occasion which he found in the religious and political condition of the neighbouring states.

The first rested partly on the skilful use which he made of the doctrine of predestination, — the belief, it is said, of every earnest and headstrong race. The vague faith he found ready to his hand. His skill was in the direction he gave to it. Each man's *death*, he taught, is written down, — the day and hour, — so that none can possibly escape. Man's freedom is only to choose the worthiest way to die. Those who fell in battle would have perished just the same, at business abroad, or in bed at home; but basely before, most gloriously now. It was their privilege and blessing to have fallen in battle. They were already in the joys of paradise. The time of persecution over, he turned the sword at once against his persecutors, and his became a military faith. Before, he had said, "Bear opposition with patience; be not grieved with unbelievers; let there be no violence in religion." Now it was, "War is enjoined on you against the infidels. Fight, then, against the friends of Satan. Kill the idolaters wherever ye find them; take them prisoners; lay siege to them; lie in wait for them in every convenient place. The sword is the key

of heaven and hell. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer." "The march is hot," said he, when his soldiers faltered in the desert, "but hell is hotter."* "The Koran, tribute, or the sword," were the short and sharp conditions the Moslem armies always offered. And while the religion enjoins frequent times of devotion, severe fasts, and laborious pilgrimages,—these, too, sometimes whimsically compromised,—it fits itself easily to the excitable, sensual temper of the Eastern people. Its name is Islam,—that is, *submission:* and this may be the foundation of the most indolent acquiescence, as God's subjects, or of the fiercest fanaticism, as his instruments. Its paradise has all the lazy luxury of an Oriental garden or seraglio;† its hell, the palpable mud, and stench, and flame, that make the vulgar imagination of the bottomless pit.‡ Its imagery could be refined and spiritualized by the more thoughtful, who, says Sale, regard it all as symbolical; but it addressed itself directly to popular passion,—the gross fear and hope of the rude mass.

Then the religion of Mahomet found its opportunity in the distractions of the East. The Persians had been wasted and broken up in wars, and their empire offered no long resistance to the Saracen inroad. At Constantinople the strength of Church and state was spent, partly in trying to humble Rome, partly in a most unhappy and disorganizing struggle against religious heresies. A party that would be ultra orthodox had maintained that there was but a single nature in Christ,—the divine; and the Church was long and sharply divided against itself,—a division which was not reconciled by the proposed "amendment," that, though he had two natures, there was only a single will. Nay, the "compromise" (as compromises will) excited another controversy as sharp as the one it was meant to heal; and the heretic party, says Gieseler, were already disposed to accept the Arabian prophet for their deliverer.

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* See Koran, *passim*, especially chap. ix., which was the last revealed.

† How charming is the naïve description of the Houris,—"having large black eyes, and resembling the eggs of an ostrich, covered with feathers from the dust"!

‡ Chap. xxxvii., *et al.*

Mahomet had done his best to conciliate both Jews and Christians, in the only way which he knew. The line of prophets before him consisted of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus; and all the Scriptures claim for them he was forward to allow. But the Jews were obstinate, and drew upon themselves his bitterest hate. His first complete conquest was over those of their sect in Arabia. The Christian doctrines, too, as he heard them, seemed gross idolatry. The Trinity in its abstracter form he may not have heard of. As travestied by some of the Eastern sects, it was composed of the Father, Son, and Virgin Mary. The death of Jesus he rejected as an ignominy; and the Mahometans, we are told, hold to this day that it was Judas * who died upon the cross, while Jesus was carried, like Elijah, into heaven. To the uttermost, however, Mahomet asserted his own high and paramount claim. A false prophet arose and proposed to share the honors. He wrote, "Moseilama, the prophet of God, to Mahomet, the prophet of God: now let half the earth be mine and half thine." The reply was, "Mahomet, the prophet of God, to Moseilama the liar: God shall bestow the earth where he hath chosen." And Moseilama was slain in battle.†

The armies of Mahomet's successors were utterly ignorant of the nations they were going to attack. It was a religious and warlike impulse that drove them on, as instinct drives great buffalo-herds across the prairie. Their summons was short and imperative. Embrace our faith and be our brethren, to share the glory and the spoil: pay tribute, keep your religion in peace, and we defend you: the only other offer is the sword. "We will bring upon you," was their defiance to Jerusalem, ‡ "men who find more delight in death than you in your wine and swine's flesh; and we will not withdraw till God grants us to destroy those of you who fight, and make your children slaves." The military instructions given to the officers in command in Syria were, —

"Remember that you are always in the presence of God, in view of death and judgment, in hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression: consult as brethren: keep the love and

* Or some one else. A list of the supposed substitutes is given in one of the notes to the edition of the Koran already referred to.

† Sale's Introduction, § 8.

‡ Sismondi, Histoire de la Chute de l'Empire Romain.

confidence of the troops. When you fight in the Lord's battles, quit you like men: give not back: soil not your victory by women's or children's blood. Destroy not the palms: burn not the wheat: cut not down the fruit-trees: do the flocks no harm, but to kill what you need for food. If you make a treaty, be true to it: let your deed be as your word. When you come to the enemy's country, you will find religious persons who live apart in monasteries, endeavouring to serve God in their way. Kill them not, nor destroy their dwellings. But you will find, too, another sort, who belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have the crown of their head shaven. Give them no quarter, unless they embrace the faith or pay tribute." *

The first Caliphs lived in Spartan simplicity, every thing being devoted to the furthering of the faith. Omar (whose mosque at Jerusalem was the second in splendor of the Mahometan world †), while his conquests were spreading on every side, was the simple leader of the devotions at Mecca. He was found there by an envoy, sleeping on the stone steps where beggars slept: the staff he leaned on was his bow: and all his equipage, as he rode his single camel to the shrine at Jerusalem, was "a sack of wheat, a basket of dates, a wooden platter, and a water-skin." The treaty, in which he allowed the inhabitants full liberty of worship, he signed sitting on the ground, in a tent of camel's hair. Such were the men whose officers were conquerors of half the world. And when their successors had become the effeminate and capricious Caliphs of Damascus or Bagdad, still the army kept the fierce independence of the desert tribes, and its chiefs the fervid fanaticism of the Moslem faith.

In Mahomet's lifetime, he had exchanged embassies with the emperors of Greece ‡ and Persia. They thought little, doubtless, of the desert prophet, but soon learned to dread the assault of his disciples. Within two years after his death, Damascus, the oldest city in the world, was taken; and Jerusalem three years later. Within twenty years, Persia was completely subdued, and the Arabs came to dwell on the Tigris and Euphrates, — spreading thence their faith by missionaries in India and the farthest East, and crushing the old fire-worship of

* Perhaps a reminiscence of Mahomet's old interest in the controversies among the Christian monks.

† Second only to that at Cordova, says Mr. Irving.

‡ "Herkul, emperor of Room," as he is called by the "Hyât-ul-Kuloob."

Iran. Constantinople was twice beleaguered by an Arab fleet; and twice was saved by the timely and terrible defence of the unquenchable Greek fire.

Meanwhile the conquest spread westward, like flame in stubble. Amru, the boldest and most ambitious of the Moslem chiefs, undertook the conquest of Egypt, — the strange land they had so often heard of in their traditions of Abraham and Joseph.* Ancient Memphis was supplanted by modern Cairo, — "town of victory," — lying on the opposite river-bank, towards Arabia and the East. At Alexandria, Amru was taken prisoner, while straying heedlessly from his camp. The Greeks did not suspect his rank (for his garb was mean as the meanest), and when he spoke so haughtily that he might have betrayed himself, his slave struck him on the face, bidding him keep silence before his betters, — then sent him as if for a message to the camp. Escaping so, he led back the charge, and was presently master of the city. It was said that by Omar's order he burned the great library there, — so great, that it furnished fuel six months to four thousand public baths.†

Akbah carried the conquest farther west, into the distracted states of North Africa, — still rent with the Donatist and Arian feuds, — crushing together Greek and Vandal, and both the rival parties in the Church. The Moorish tribes of Africa, acknowledging their kindred ‡ from the Arabian desert, accepted eagerly their congenial faith; and from the mingling of these two barbarous races, that coast has been called the coast of Barbary to this day. Akbah swept across the whole north shore of Africa, and came as far as the Atlantic, where he spurred his horse into the waves, and, raising his eyes to heaven, said, "Great God, if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the west, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other god than thee!"

At this time the kingdom of the Goths in Spain was

* See Koran, chap. xii., and the poem of "Yusuf," in Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature, Vol. III., Appendix.

† Mr. Irving hardly hints a doubt of this very doubtful story. He even makes five thousand baths, instead of four.

‡ Bourke, Moors in Spain.

falling into decay. The Goths had lost their bold temper and proud spirit. From the first they had adopted the refinement, and now they yielded to the faith, of Rome. The Roman had prevailed over the Arian belief; and the priesthood already showed something of that cruel bigotry which has always been characteristic of Spain. The Jews were bitterly persecuted, and twenty thousand of them were banished. The Gothic laws concerning slaves were of unexampled cruelty; their institutions, it is said, made the first model of the Inquisition.* Blinding or assassination had come to be the custom, when one king was succeeded by another. The sovereigns in battle rode in a pompous chariot, with royal robes and a coronet of pearls, as if it were a holiday show and certain victory.

Roderick, "the last of the Goths," was a profligate and cruel man, — his one virtue the cheap and common one of military courage. He was already forewarned, it was said, that his realm must fall. A house in Toledo, capital of Gothic Spain, was kept always locked,† by the mandate of some old prophecy; and at the accession of each king the custom was that he should put on an additional lock, leaving the key with the magistrate. Roderick's jealous avarice was roused; and he not only refused the lock, but ordered the house to be broken open. Nothing was found in it but a chest; and in that chest a scroll, containing the figure of a mounted Arab, and an inscription saying that when that house should be opened, a race of men so featured and equipped should become conquerors of Spain.

Time passed on, and the prophecy was forgotten. The fortress of Tangier, opposite Gibraltar rock, was held by the Count Julian, and kept the Saracens in check. But Roderick cruelly entreated Julian's daughter, and sent her with a mocking message to her father; and to be revenged, he invited over the Moors and Arabs, to invade the country and drive out its unworthy lord.‡ So the king's insolent crime was followed by the

* See Introduction to Southey's "Cid"; also, Esprit des Loix, XXVIII. 1, and XXIX. 16.

† Murphy, Empire in Spain.

‡ Out of this, Southey has fabricated the garrulous and sentimental story of his "Roderick." Mr. Irving despatches the tradition in a single incredulous allusion.

Moorish Empire in Spain, which for a time put the whole of Christendom in peril. While Christian Europe was given to sterner things, science and philosophy were cultivated by the Arabs. Cordova, their capital, contained a population of a million; it numbered at one time a hundred and fifty authors. The culture of fruits and the growth of silk, with various luxuries, and such Moorish arts as wrought and adorned the gorgeous Alhambra, made it outshine in splendor all other European cities. But the irreconcilable hostilities of religion were the germ of dissension and decay; and the Saracen power was finally extinguished in the conquest of Granada, by Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1492.

Musa, the conqueror of Spain, cherished the gigantic project of sweeping round through Europe, subduing every Christian state in turn, and making the circle of Saracen empire meet about the whole Mediterranean. But he was recalled on suspicion to Damascus; his son was wantonly slain, and the head shown in mockery to the wretched father, who went to end his days in religious exercises at Mecca. The Goths fell back upon the mountainous district of Asturia, close on the Bay of Biscay, and began that obstinate war for their religion, race, and realm, which lasted seven hundred and eighty years; that war which so wrought the virtues and faults of the Spanish people, — their romantic loyalty and dark superstition, — their lofty pride of chivalry, or devotional fervor, and their implacable bigotry towards the enemies of their faith.* So placed, and so strung to the encounter, they made a partial barrier against that fierce Mahometan assault.

But the great battle for the religion and liberties of Europe was fought on the plains of France. The Goths had still retained from the Franks a portion of its territory, and the Saracens would succeed them there. France began to suffer from their ravage and devastation; and it began to be feared that these children of the desert would make themselves a desert on that soil, and encamp there permanently. They trusted, too, to divisions among the Frankish chiefs. The long-haired and

* Mr. Ticknor has admirably traced the sequence of these results of the Moorish war upon the mind, character, and literature of Spain.

bearded kings, sons of Clovis and Clotaire, had degenerated to a line of imbecile boys, kept immured in the royal house, and only paraded once a year, for some state ceremony, in a car drawn by oxen, — the victims, not the leaders, of the state. The power was wielded by a high officer, called *Mord-dom*, — that is, Judge of Life and Death,* — afterwards rendered Major-domo, or Mayor of the Palace; and he shared it usually with a colleague or rival. Karl, or Charles, was now the strong man of that race. But jealousies had arisen; he had been kept confined, and was scarcely rescued by his friends; and the chief of the southern country was his foe. So the Saracen, Abdalrahman, hoped to step between and crush them both. But Karl gathered a strong force, and trained them first in the wars of the border tribes. Then he put to them the question (which to the free warriors of the Franks the chief must always put), Shall we go and meet these new invaders? And his men answered with a shout, and were ready for the battle.

And so those two great races met, on the plain near Tours. Asia and Europe, the East and the West, encountered in defiance, face to face. For a week they lay in each other's sight, and only made slight trials of their strength. It was on the seventh day that the Moors made their desperate assault on the iron-clad warriors of the Franks. Their light horse broke upon that barrier, like foam upon a rock. Unmoved and impenetrable the Christians stood, "like a belt of ice," tiring down that idle effort, or mowing the infidels like grain, when within reach of the terrible sweep of their battle-axe. Abdalrahman saw that all was vain, and sought death where the blows were heaviest. Both armies encamped, as before, on the plain. But when, next morning, the Franks had stood long in array, expecting an attack, they sent to view, and behold, the Arab tents were empty. All had fled in the night. From this great victory Karl was named Martel, or the Sledgehammer; "for," said the chronicler, "as the hammer breaks and bruises iron and steel and all other metals, so did he bruise and break in battle all these foes and strange nations." The Arabs, complaining not of destiny, call the fatal field the Mar-

* Sismondi.

tyrs' Pavement; "and to this day," say they, "the sound is heard which the angels of heaven make in so sacred a place, to call the faithful unto prayer." *

Charles Martel, it has been said, is known to us only through a cloud,—but that a thundercloud. He was more Pagan than Christian,—a man both feared and hated by the Church. His mother's brother had slain at prayer a bishop who spoke slander of her. His own victories he gained by paying his rough troops with the Church's spoil, and the Roman amphitheatre at Nismes, which he tried to destroy by fire, still shows, it is said, the marks of his terrible campaign in the South of France. The Franks, such stanch Christians in the "Merovingian times," had relapsed to something like pagan barbarism. For eighty years, said Boniface, there was no council or archbishop among them. The untamed, unconverted tribes from beyond the Rhine were brought over to swell the armies of Charles. The clergy saw with terror the havoc he made in their fair lands and Church treasuries. But the ills he had wrought, said they, the Lord made to fall back upon his own head; and "St. Euchère, being once at prayer, absorbed in meditation on holy things, was borne into the other world; where, by revelation of the Lord, he saw Charles in torment, in the bottom of hell. When he asked the reason, the angel who was his guide answered, that so the saints had judged him, whose domains he had invaded. Returning to this world, Euchère told the story to Boniface and others, adding for proof, that, if they should go to Charles's tomb, they would not find his body there. They went; but on opening the tomb there came forth a serpent; and the tomb was empty and blackened, as with fire.

This formidable annunciation had great effect with the descendants of Charles Martel, confirming powerfully their alliance with the Church. But with Charles himself it was policy, not superstition, that made him in his latter days a strenuous defender of the Christian faith. As a desperate resource, to fortify himself against the Saracens, he had called in his fierce kindred from beyond the Rhine; and the Church's property was the ransom of

* Capefigue, Charlemagne.

its life. But the Frieslanders, Saxons, and Allemans coveted the wealth of Gaul, and the stream of them was still unspent. The Franks were first conquerors of that soil, and had encamped themselves thereon, and were now proprietors, with their own towns, castles, and domains. So the strife was long and deadly between them and those who followed in their track. The terrible Saxon campaigns of Charlemagne were only incidents in that great warfare. Hemmed in between the two invasions of Moor and Teuton, Charles had found the Christian his only defence against the Pagan tribes. To spread Christianity was to spread the limits of comparative peace and civilization. To secure his own domain, he required other weapons than the hammer and the sword. He must throw up an outwork against the passion itself of barbarian conquest; fortify affinity of race by kindred of belief; and intrench himself within a breastwork of Christian civilization. And the allies he needed in this new defence were monks and clergy, — the consecrated envoys of the Church.

"Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, was the instrument of this great revolution." He was an English monk, of the Anglo-Saxon Church; his name, Winfred, changed to Boniface (*well-doer*) at his consecration by the Pope. He was born about 680; and at the age of twenty-three, inspired by a devoted missionary zeal, he had gone among the Frieslanders, the most fierce and disdainful of all the German tribes, to labor for their conversion. "Is it true," asked one of their chiefs of a priest, when his foot was already in the baptismal font, "that my ancestors, the Frieslanders, are in hell?" "Unquestionably," replied the priest; "they died without the faith, and could not be heirs of salvation." "Then," said the chief, in wrath, "I will not quit those brave men to join the cowardly and base-born of your heavenly kingdom. Take your preaching elsewhere; we will follow the customs of the bold Frieslanders."* Such was the untempered stuff the Christian missionaries had to deal with. The priest was solaced on his way by a vision which showed the defiant chief among his ancestors in hell; but there was very little encouragement to be

* Bercastel's (Roman Catholic) History of the Church.

had among the living. Boniface had labored first in the same field; then he went to Rome, where he received a fresh commission from the Pope. The Gallic Church had been speculative, rationalistic, divided, tending overmuch to separation and independence. To meet and win the rude tribes of Germany, it needed a more centralizing influence, and a more imposing name. Christ must be preached "in the name of Rome, that great name which for so many generations had filled their ear." And the first oath of submission and allegiance to the Roman see was taken by Boniface, as he set forth on this perilous expedition, into the depth of the pagan and barbaric world.

He, says Michelet, "was the Columbus and the Cortéz of that unknown world, whither he penetrated with no other weapon than his dauntless faith and the name of Rome." The restless tribes he attached to the soil by the influences of Christian culture. Journeying across the ocean, the Alps, and the Rhine, he became the bond of nations, — the mediator between the Franks and Rome on the one side, and Germany on the other. The Pope, having need of defence against the Lombards, made him his envoy to Charles Martel; sending with him the symbolic keys, "and such gifts as none had seen the like." The hands of the Frank were over-full now; but his son and grandson established that most important alliance, for which Boniface had prepared the way. On the Rhine he erected the church of Mayence, metropolitan of Christian Germany, and became archbishop there. Cologne, "the church of relics, the holy city of the Low Countries," was of his foundation. His school at Fulda, in the heart of Germanic barbarism, "became the light of the West, and the teacher of its masters." He became the vicar of the Pope in that region, and seemed as zealous for the triumph of Rome as of Christianity itself. He founded various monasteries, outposts of Christian influence;* and sought to regulate men's lives and manners by ecclesiastical rule. The pagan customs of eating horseflesh, bacon, and certain sorts of game (as hares, daws, and storks), he was enjoined by the Pope to forbid

* The importance of monasteries as agents of civilization may be inferred from the fact, stated by Capefigue, that five eighths of the towns in France were originally monastic settlements.

wholly, or to restrict by penance.* In return, he asks the Pope's authority to imprison and excommunicate the false teachers who troubled him. — Adelbert, who seems to have been a kind of itinerant enthusiast, preaching by waysides and Druidic (?) fountains, displaying strange relics, "offering prayers in his own name," and reverenced extravagantly by the people as a saint; and Clement, who held that Christ, when he went below, set free some of the "spirits in prison," — "believers and unbelievers, praisers of God and worshippers of idols, — and many other horrible things, contrary to the Catholic faith." One can pardon the noble missionary's impatience of contradiction, working as he was for what to him was the only saving faith. The submission he demanded of others, he was first of all thoroughly willing to yield himself.

But it was the lofty ideal Church which he cherished and identified with the name of Rome. He dealt frankly and independently by his own conviction. Hearing of scandalous and pagan doings sanctioned even there, at the fountain of authority, he wrote to the Pope: — "These carnal men, these simple Allemans, Boians, and Franks, if they hear of such things at Rome as we forbid, will think it lawful, and be offended. They hear of pagan dances, shouts, and songs, close by the church, at the new year, by day or night; and that one will not lend his neighbour either tool or fire: also that women wear pagan bracelets and phylacteries (flounces?), and sell the same. With these carnal and ignorant people such things are a great hindrance to our doctrine and preaching. If you will prohibit them at Rome, it will be a great gain to you and to us." He asks, in all simplicity, if is true that the Pope violates the canons, and falls into the sin of simony. "We beg you, dearest brother," returned the Pope, "to say no more about that."

In the year 752, Boniface consummated the alliance between the Church of Rome and the new monarchy of France, by crowning Pepin, father of Charlemagne and son of Charles Martel. That strong-handed family had long wielded the power of the state. They only wanted the sanction of legitimacy to what was already an es-

* Gieseler.

tablished fact; and that Church was the only institution then standing, venerable for age, and of authority in the West. While other institutions had crumbled, while other cities were overthrown and lost, Rome had still kept something of her supremacy. She was still the great, the ancient, the sacred city. Her Church was the fountain-head of religious authority; her bishop was, more than any other, prince and defender of the state. His connection with the Eastern Church and empire had long been weakened. From the first he was, far more than the Eastern primates, an independent ruler, even while nominally subject to the same state authority. He was, says Guizot, "not the servant of a present sovereign, but the vicar of an absent one." This compelled him to act more freely, on his own responsibility. Since the times when Leo had been left to defend the city from the Huns, and Gregory to save it from the Lombards, it was to the Bishop of Rome that the security of Italy was intrusted. Though nominally his choice must be ratified by the Emperor, yet really he was free; and when the sovereign tried to impose on the city a bishop it did not choose, a rebellion of the soldiers warned him not to carry his supposed authority too far. Discords and heresies in the East, and the great Mahometan invasion, which still hung threateningly, crippled the imperial power, year by year. And now, when the Lombards were crowding on the North, and a strong hand was wanting to fortify the position of the Church at Rome, — to keep it safe at home, and back its great enterprises abroad, — the readiest appeal was to the powerful chief of the Franks. The Pope wanted military defence, and the force of arms. The king wanted the prestige of legitimacy, and the force of law. So that equal alliance was established, which in the next generation crushed the Lombard kingdom, making the Pope a temporal prince, and for seven hundred and fifty years secured to the Church of Rome its spiritual supremacy, on the basis of political independence and sovereignty.

This alliance, followed by so momentous consequences, marks the crowning point in the life of Boniface. He was now an old man of seventy-two. In the warm zeal of youth he had begun the great work, to which the energies of his manhood were so thoroughly conse-

crated. For forty years he had been the ambassador of Christ and the Church to the rude tribes that swarmed thick upon the outskirts of civilization. He had been a pioneer and conqueror in that bloodless and glorious campaign. The broad German land was brought into the family of Christian nations. Churches, monasteries, and schools were established, giving the religion a firm hold upon the mind of that barbarous people. He had his reward, in being archbishop and spiritual sovereign in the Christian metropolis he himself had founded, on the banks of the noble Rhine. Four or five great tribes, before hostile and dispersed, revered him as their teacher in knowledge and their guide in faith. He was the agent of the great spiritual dominion at Rome, and of the strong monarchy of the Franks, — perhaps more widely and deeply powerful than any other man then living. And now, it seemed, he had only to thank God for what had been accomplished, and spend the latter days of his life in peace.

But the fire of his early zeal still burned in him undimmed, and he felt that there was still work in store for him. The Frieslanders, the fiercest and rudest of the tribes for which he had spent his life, who had scorned his mission and repulsed him fifty years before, were still unconverted, as they were always unsubdued. This cloud of Pagan darkness rested on the border of his Christian realm; and to dispel it must be the last effort of his life. So he besought the Pope to accept the surrender of his church dignity, and commission him afresh to his missionary work. Another was appointed archbishop in his place; and Boniface, whose higher dignity was as Apostle to the Germans, went forth again as simple pioneer of the faith. He had already been employed in restoring more than thirty churches, which the inconstant barbarians had destroyed by fire. His head was clear, and his heart strong; but this expedition he felt would be his last. "Know, my son," said he to his successor, "that the time of my death draws near. Hear your father's last request. Go on with the building of the churches I have begun in Thuringia; labor with all zeal for the conversion of the tribes; finish the church at Fulda, and when my time has come bury me there. And, that nothing may be wanting, do not forget with

my books to send a winding-sheet." And with these words the old man left him weeping.*

Coming into the Low Countries on the Rhine, he labored with such effectual zeal, that, as the account is, "he baptized the infidels by thousands, made them throw down their temples and build churches in their stead, and appointed a day for their confirmation; meanwhile sending each to his own home." His dwelling was on the river-side, where people thronged to him, as to John in the wilderness, to be baptized. On the appointed day, instead of the disciples he was looking for, appeared a turbulent band of armed barbarians, who fell upon his encampment. His servants were eager to beat them back; but he said, "Lay down your arms, my children; our religion bids us not render evil for evil. The day I have longed for is come. Trust in God, and for a few moments of this poor life he shall give you an everlasting kingdom." Then the pagans fell upon them, and slaughtered them, to the number of fifty-two. So died Boniface, seventy-five years old, — the noblest of the early missionaries of the Church. His death, it was said, was presently revenged by a Christian army; and it was not long before the remnant of the tribe were ready to embrace his faith.

The interval of a hundred and twenty-three years separates the death of the warrior-prophet of Arabia from that of the martyr-apostle of Germany. That interval is the period of the highest glory to the Saracen invaders in Mahomet's name, and of the deepest debasement (as is generally reckoned) to the mind of Europe. But in the almost utter absence of history, poetry, or science, there was yet the element of religious conviction, and an organizing force living enough and strong enough to lay the foundation of the European family of states: and to these a new career of freedom and intellectual activity is opening, while the Mahometan dominion is but a relic, decaying and frail, of that mighty power established by the sudden and fierce assault of a conquering horde. It is no purpose of ours to draw a parallel between either the religion or the polity of Mahometan and Christian nations; but we mark this single fact.

* Bercastel.

The thought and heart of the Moslem movement were all in one man, — his best gift a poetic and devout enthusiasm, — his mind untrained, his passions to the uttermost indulged; — a man, save in the marvellous blending of fanatic fervor and invincible will, far inferior to the least among many who have given nobility to the Christian name. The two religions are no fair subject for comparison, in this sort, perhaps; indeed, one has often been treated as an offshoot or distortion of the other, rather than as strictly an independent faith. But when we think of the sudden conquest of the one, and the slow-maturing, long-enduring dominion of the other, we should not forget to do honor to those obscure but noble men, whose patient toils, so full of fruit for us (for we are also of the Teutons), are almost lost in the glare that lights up the story of the Arabian Prophet and his successors. J. H. A.

Art. III. — THE ORIGIN OF THE MINISTRY AT LARGE, AND ITS FREE CHAPELS.*

We have never read a Report of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches with more pleasure than we derived from the perusal of the last. It is full of valuable information, and to every one interested in the moral condition of the poor in our cities, we would recommend its careful perusal. We are happy to learn from it the good which has resulted from the labors of those faithful ministers, which cannot but continue whilst the same devotedness and Christian spirit shall characterize their efforts, which are so conspicuous in this Report. Our faith will never waver in the onward prosperity and success of this ministry, so long as it shall be carried on in the same spirit, and shall continue to rely for success on that Christian principle in which it had its origin, — preaching the Gospel to the poor.

Whilst reading this Report, we have been forcibly re-

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* *The Sixteenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches.* Boston: J. Wilson. 8vo. pp. 36.

minded of the small beginnings in which this noble work of philanthropy had its origin, and the remarkable success which has attended its progress. The readers of this journal have been wont to meet in its pages, during the last score of years, with occasional mention of the Ministry at Large in Boston, of its purposes, its efficient agents, and its effects. Notwithstanding the multitude of pamphlets and reports which it has called forth, and the many sketches of the labors of Dr. Tuckerman and others in this work, there are some very interesting facts connected with its "day of small things," that have not as yet found their way into print, in a connected form.

In tracing out the history of this ministry, not long since, in our memory and from records, we found that in September, 1822, two young men were quite desirous that a Sunday school should be formed in a new school-house, then in process of erection, at the north part of the city. So interested did they become in the matter, that they called together some friends, made known their hopes and plans, and urged that some measures should be taken to carry them into effect. The first meeting was held in October, 1822, at which four persons only were present. On the suggestion of the plan, various religious topics were introduced. At an adjourned meeting, a committee was chosen to report some more specific plan to the meeting which was to be held the ensuing week. Such a meeting was held, and several others like it, but nothing more was accomplished; and although several gentlemen came together, who it was thought would greatly assist in promoting the excellent objects contemplated, especially that of the religious instruction of the poor, yet the brief records of two meetings at that time mention, "that they did not hold out much encouragement of success." And it is well remembered by us, that, whilst the subject was under consideration, one of the gentlemen, who was much interested in the matter, almost discouraged, left the room, and remarked, that he despaired of success. But the cloud passed away, and at a meeting not long after an association was formed, under the name of the "Association of Young Men for Mutual Improvement and the Religious Instruction of the Poor." The first of these objects the members aimed to accomplish by meeting on

one evening in every week, when some subject was discussed, or plan for the improvement of the poor considered. The latter object was to be effected by the establishment of Sunday schools, and by means of lectures in different parts of the city, on Sunday evening, at the dwellings of the poor.

The meetings of the Association soon became quite interesting and profitable, and it was not long before an opportunity offered by which its members were enabled to carry their second plan into operation. It was suggested by some of the members, that a place should be provided for preaching to the poor who were prevented from attending public worship. Rev. Henry Ware, who was much interested in the Association from its commencement, kindly offered to furnish preaching when a suitable place should be found. A room was soon obtained in an old dilapidated building in Hatters' Square, which was filled with poor families. On the second story, at the head of the stairs, was a chamber occupied by a most excellent woman, whose husband was absent at sea. On Sunday evening, November 24th, 1822, the floor having been neatly sanded, a small stand with a Bible upon it was seen in one corner, and some dozen chairs were placed around. In the evening the neighbours assembled, and soon after the Rev. Henry Ware, accompanied by two members of the Association, were seated in that humble room. The text of the sermon preached was from Matthew xxii. 37, 38, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; this is the first and great commandment."

In this first Sunday-evening service held for the religious instruction of the poor, in this humble manner, we have the commencement of the Ministry at Large in the city of Boston, more than twenty-seven years ago. Small as was the audience, it was encouraging to the members of the Association, and the next Sunday evening they held a similar meeting in a small room in Charter Street, and three weeks after a service was held in Hatters' Square, Charter Street, and Spring Street. Neither congregation exceeded twenty-five in number. These services were continued till the following June. They were well attended by the persons for whom they were designed, and often the audience, small as it was,

presented a most touching sight. Much good was done by these evening exercises in the parts of the city where they were held, and many among the poor have expressed very grateful thanks for the influence they exerted upon them and their families.

In January, 1823, the subject of obtaining some one as a minister to the poor was considered in the Association, and a committee was appointed to procure the services of some suitable person. A committee was also chosen, to ascertain if a lot of land could not be found for the erection of a free chapel. Much progress was not made by this committee, great difficulties being found in the way of procuring a suitable person.

In the autumn of 1824, efforts were made by the Association to resume the Sunday-evening lectures. During this winter they were conducted by the members of the Association in a room in Pitts Court. They were well attended, and the audience seemed much interested.

In February, 1824, another effort was made to obtain a minister and erect a chapel, which was attended with little success. From this time, the Association held its meetings every week, and among other subjects presented for consideration were the mission to India, the condition of our prisons, temperance, peace, the formation of the American Unitarian Association, and the distribution of religious publications. Each of these topics was fully discussed, and its members took an active part afterwards in the formation of societies which had these objects specially in view. Thus the work went on, the Association simply holding its meetings weekly, from the autumn of 1824, to November, 1826, when information was received that the Rev. Dr. Tuckerman, who had been pastor of the church in Chelsea for twenty-five years, had become much interested in the poor of our cities, and had expressed a desire to meet the members of the Association. Accordingly, on the following Wednesday evening, November 5th, 1826, Dr. Tuckerman met its members for the first time. It was a full meeting, and all seemed animated with fresh courage. A committee was chosen to procure a place for him in which he might preach, and the means for carrying out his plans as a minister to the poor.

A large room, at the corner of Merrimac and Portland

Streets, was procured, and Sunday-evening lectures were commenced. This place, prepared for religious services, was in the upper chamber of what was called the Circular Building. Suitable seats having been procured, worship was held under the naked beams, surrounded by bare brick walls. On Sunday evening, December 2d, 1826, Dr. Tuckerman preached the first sermon in this humble place, and thus commenced his services as a Minister at Large. Arrangements were immediately made to form a Sunday school, which was commenced on a very cold day in December. It was cheerless, indeed, as one has well said who was present on that day, as the winter's wind came whistling through the loose casements, and the windows were covered with a thick coat of frost, whilst around a small stove were gathered *three* children and seven teachers. Those, however, who were engaged in this good work were not easily discouraged. They persevered, and in a short time had an interesting school, and some of them afterwards had the pleasure of seeing from this small beginning one of the largest Sunday schools in the city, numbering between three and four hundred pupils.

It was not long before this upper chamber became a much loved and cherished spot, especially to the poor and the aged in that neighbourhood, and was so full, that it was found very uncomfortable and inconvenient, both for the evening service and the Sunday school. The Association at this time renewed its efforts to obtain a free chapel, and a committee was again appointed to make the necessary arrangements, and raise the funds. The committee did not ask for much, — two thousand dollars only; but it required great effort to raise this sum. Individuals were slow in contributing. They had various doubts and misgivings, and it was thought by many an unwise experiment. Through the untiring exertions of some of its members, a lot of land was, however, purchased in Friend Street, and a neat and commodious wooden chapel was erected.

On the evening of October 27th, 1828, the last service was held in the upper chamber of the Circular Building. In alluding to it, Dr. Tuckerman says, in one of his Reports, —

"Our present lecture-room has been well filled, inconvenient

as it is, and poor as are the accommodations. To the subscribers to our new place of worship, I beg leave to offer my sincere gratitude. I believe they have done an important service to the cause of our religion among us. Many have been gathered for worship with us on Sunday evening, who would otherwise have worshipped nowhere, and I doubt not there are those among them who have thus been advanced in their preparation for a better world. I owe, also, and will not fail to pay, my thanks to the gentlemen without whose assistance in the conducting of them the services of the lecture-room could not have been maintained."

On Sunday evening, November 10th, 1828, the first service was held in the Friend Street Chapel. Dr. Tuckerman preached the sermon. The services were quite interesting, and the audience large. The hearts of many were made glad that evening, on beholding the new and commodious chapel. The erection of this building gave great permanency to this ministry, and it was now destined to go on and be abundantly blessed.

Not long after Dr. Tuckerman had commenced his services in this chapel, sectarian jealousy was awakened, and he found that many seemed to be in doubt and somewhat alarmed about his theological views. It was rumored that he was a Unitarian, — could he, therefore, be a Christian? Having heard these rumors, the Doctor gave notice that he should present his views on certain controverted points, in a course of lectures. On the following Sunday evening, the chapel was well filled with an attentive audience. The course extended to ten or twelve sermons, in which he presented, in a clear, succinct, and forcible manner, his views upon various Christian doctrines. He spoke not of others, he indulged in no bitter railing, no harsh denunciation against Christians of other denominations; this was not in his heart. The spirit of charity and love dwelt too deeply there to permit this.

Dr. Tuckerman did many good works, but among his best, at this period of his life, many will ever consider this course of lectures, in which, in the most simple manner, united with the most fervid eloquence, he presented his well-digested views upon the doctrines of total depravity, the atonement, and the Trinity, with those on immortality and future retribution. The power which

he then discovered, and which was deeply felt by those who heard him, could not be understood by some, — for it was rarely equalled by him on any other occasion, — till, in reading his memoir, written by one who knew him well, it is mentioned, "that, in the early part of his ministry, he devoted much time to the study of the doctrines of Christianity." Never, after the delivery of these lectures, was a word said upon these subjects abroad, and he went on, his flock increasing, his services and visits sought after by the poor and afflicted from every part of the city.

In the winter of 1830, Dr. Tuckerman's health was such that he could preach but seldom, and in the spring of 1831 he earnestly asked, as he had done in his reports for some time previous, that a colleague might be procured. But no one was found. In the spring of 1832, it became necessary for him to relinquish the chapel services in the evening, and, at the close of his Report, Dr. Tuckerman expressed his strong desire that some one should take his place, to whom he might act as an assistant, and on whom might devolve the whole duties of the chapel? This oft-repeated request was at last answered, and Mr. C. F. Barnard entered upon the service, in the fulness of his spirit, in the autumn of 1832, having assisted in the Sunday school connected with the chapel some few months previous.

The evening lectures were now resumed, and continued through the winter and spring, till June, 1833. Mr. Barnard labored most faithfully in this field. He commenced a service for children, which interested them not a little. This service was continued by him, morning and afternoon, for some time, with happy success.

In the autumn of 1834, Mr. Barnard commenced an evening service in a ward-room, at the south part of the city, intending to labor in that section, and carry out this ministry there, which appeared to offer a good opening. In this he was not mistaken. It was not long before he had quite large audiences at his evening service, and the Sunday school which he formed was well attended. His success was quite encouraging, and it was not long before, through his great perseverance and unwearied exertions, and the liberality of the friends of this ministry, the Warren Street Chapel was erected, and dedicated

by appropriate religious services, in January, 1836. Mr. Barnard commenced a service for the children in the morning, and in the afternoon and evening for adults. Of the good accomplished by him, especially among the young, it is useless here to speak, for it is known to all, and his chapel is one of the cherished institutions of the city.

Mr. Barnard was succeeded at the Friend Street Chapel by F. T. Gray, who entered upon his duties in October, 1833. At first, services were held as before, during the day and evening, on the Sabbath, the morning service being mainly adapted to the young. On the commencement, soon after, of a regular adult service during the day and evening, the audience greatly increased, and the Sunday school presented a very pleasing aspect, cheering the hearts of the teachers, who had labored with great fidelity, many of them from the commencement of the ministry. The following extract from a Report of the Ministers at Large about this time will give some idea of the state of things in 1834.

"There are now over two hundred children connected with the Howard Sunday School, who are instructed by thirty-eight teachers, with two superintendents, whose interest and fidelity to those committed to their care, during the past winter, deserve great commendation. They have been untiring in their exertions to interest and engage their pupils in holy things. Their efforts have been crowned with success. The valuable assistance rendered by the superintendent and teachers of this school to the friends of this ministry, the Ministers at Large cannot but acknowledge. It encourages us to persevere with them in efforts to promote the happiness and moral welfare of our less favored brethren."

We are the more ready to make this extract, because those who were then engaged exerted an influence, by their fidelity and perseverance in their holy work, that was deeply felt at the time in the community, and more than one church since has felt the influence which was exerted upon the pupils of this school by them in whom they were so much interested, and over whom they watched with such unceasing care for several years. No good cause could fail, with such warm, devoted, and faithful friends.

Dr. Tuckerman had, from the commencement of his

ministry, been under the patronage of the American Unitarian Association, to which body he addressed his Reports, and by whom they were published, receiving from the Association the sum of four hundred dollars per annum for his services. In May, 1834, as the ministers had increased, and the work was gaining in interest and importance, more definite and efficient aid was necessary; hence the Fraternity of Churches was formed. From that period the ministry has been supported by annual contributions from each of the Unitarian societies in the city, which are paid into the treasury of the Fraternity. The last year, between five and six thousand dollars was contributed by these societies for the support of this excellent ministry.

In 1835, through the persevering exertions of some gentlemen who were engaged as teachers in the Friend Street Chapel, an effort was made to erect a more commodious chapel, commensurate with the wants of the poor in that section of the city. That effort was successful; a sufficient amount was subscribed, with the amount received from the sale of the old chapel and land, to enable them to go on, obtaining the balance by a loan, which was needed for a few years only. A site was selected in Pitts Street, and a neat and commodious brick building erected, at an expense of sixteen thousand dollars, including the land.

And now there was a change to take place at the old and much loved Friend Street Chapel. Change had been going on all around it in ten years, and now it was to be seen within. On the afternoon of November 6th, 1836, the last sermon was preached in this chapel, by the pastor, from the text, "Lord, I have loved the habitation of thine house, and the place where thine honor dwelleth." There were many sad hearts on leaving this place; for it was loved, and around it had gathered many holy recollections, and many sweet remembrances of hours passed with cherished friends, who had united in worship together, at the evening hour, where they had been permitted to listen to holy truths, as they fell from the lips, not only of the beloved Tuckerman, but also of the gifted Follen, Greenwood, and Ware.

But that humble building is not, and never will be, forgotten by many a grateful heart. It is safely enshrined

in the memory of many, who received instruction and solace within its walls. And it will live long, — long as the touching and eloquent tribute to that lowly building shall be retained, which was paid to it by the beloved Greenwood. "The little chapel in Friend Street! Small and humble as it is, I never pass the spot on which it stands without a mental thanksgiving. Modest mother of poor men's churches! Lowly and plain, but beautiful and holy cathedral of charity! Blessed is the work which thou hast witnessed and fostered! Thy walls are slight, and must soon be removed, but thy form will remain in the memories of many who have been taught in thee, and be ever associated with the poor man's friend!"

On the following Sabbath, November 13th, a bright and happy band of children and teachers was seen hastening to the new and well furnished chapel in Pitts Street. The morning was somewhat lowering, but the clouds soon passed away, and a large and deeply interested audience was assembled at the dedication. The sermon was preached by the minister of the chapel, and Rev. Mr. Barnard, Rev. Louis Dwight, and Rev. William Collier took part in the services. It was thus, in the spirit of Christian charity with all denominations, that the services were commenced, and the same has been continued and manifested to the present hour, — ever remembering the truth embodied in the following extract from one of the Reports of the Ministers at Large, in 1835.

"We have learned, and we trust that we shall never forget, that our chapels are not to be made arenas for theological controversy. No friend of the poor can wish to distract them with the claims and tenets of conflicting sects. To go among the poor with sectarian purposes would retard rather than advance their social, moral, and religious improvement. To attempt to form them under this or that denomination is a direct, serious injury. It calls forth jealousy, prejudice, and party feeling. It dissevers and divides those who should feel and act as brethren. It draws off their attention from weightier matters. It leaves out of view the only two points around which the poor and the friend of the poor should rally, — *Love to God, and love to man.*"

Rev. J. T. Sargent entered upon his duties as Minister at Large in the summer of 1837, and a room was selected,

in Northampton Street, in which to hold a religious service on the Sabbath, and establish a Sunday school. He selected the extreme south part of the city for his field of labor. After some few months, a more commodious hall was found in a new building in Suffolk Street, and to this he removed his school, and for some time had religious services during the day and evening of the Sabbath. Mr. Sargent soon awakened quite an interest in this ministry, and he was eminently successful in his labors. He was faithful and untiring in his exertions to promote the welfare of those to whom he especially ministered, and it was not long before a sum was subscribed sufficient for the erection of a new chapel, in Suffolk Street. The corner-stone was laid May 23d, 1839, and the occasion was one that will long be remembered by many who were present, from the fact, that it was the last public service in which Dr. Tuckerman took part, — the last time that his voice was heard, and the last time that many looked upon his venerated form. Who that was present will forget the fervent petition which he offered on that occasion, as the multitude were gathered around him, and his gray locks were fanned by the breeze, on that beautiful spring afternoon?

The chapel was dedicated February 5th, 1840, and Mr. Sargent labored there, greatly encouraged, till December 29th, 1844, when he resigned.

We have now given a brief history of the origin of the Ministry at Large in Boston, and a sketch of the *early history* of its chapels. As we have been thus reviewing the last twenty-eight years, many weighty questions have arisen and many pregnant thoughts have suggested themselves, which we have not space to notice or even name, though we may present them at some future period. But of one thing we have been most deeply impressed, as we have gone on step by step, studying the records of an exceedingly interesting portion of our ecclesiastical history as a denomination; and that is, the immense influence which this Ministry at Large has exerted among all classes in this community, — an influence which no words can describe or calculations measure. For well and truly has it been said, by one who did a most excellent service by his labors for several months in this ministry, "What language can describe or calculations meas-

ure this influence? When the joy of salvation can be adequately portrayed, when the depth of despair can be sounded, then, and then only, will the limits of the influence flowing from this blessed ministry fully appear."

F. T. G.

Art. IV. — SYDNEY SMITH'S SKETCHES OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY.*

Sydney Smith exhibited a rare combination of character, — consummate wit and consummate discretion. When written to by the son and biographer of Sir James Mackintosh for some of his late father's letters, Mr. Smith replied, — "Upon principle, I keep no letters except those on business. I have not a single letter from him, nor from any human being, in my possession." Such was his solicitude lest the unguarded pleasantries of a familiar correspondence should afterwards lead to misunderstandings, or give unnecessary pain. As a preacher, also, he knew what belonged to the decorum of the pulpit, and the seriousness and gravity of his theme. There are fewer conceits of thought or language in the whole of his three volumes of sermons than in many a single page of South. Better proof of his judgment and of the essential kindness and generosity of his disposition could hardly be had than is furnished by the fact, that, though everywhere accounted one of the greatest wits of his time, he was more loved than feared. The tradition of his wit and raillery in conversation will die away, but we have an enduring monument of both in his critical and controversial writings. Here, however, to do him justice, his keenest shafts were reserved for legitimate occasions; — when some new folly was to be shown up, when some new pretender was to be unmasked, or when conceit and affectation were to be taught to know themselves. No doubt, to the objects of his merciless banter the pain was often as great as if they had been pursued by violent and angry invective; but to the writer and

* *Elementary Sketches of Moral Philosophy, delivered at the Royal Institution, in the Years* 1804, 1805, *and* 1806. By the late Rev. Sydney Smith, M. A. London. 1850. 8vo. pp. xii. and 424.

reader it is certainly a great gain, where, as in this case, good humor is made to do the work of bad, and do it quite as effectually.

The posthumous publication before us will add to the author's reputation as an agreeable writer, of excellent judgment and temper, who was able, perhaps beyond any one who ever attempted it before or since, to relieve the general dryness and triteness of the subject by the unfailing resources of a light and playful fancy. It consists of twenty-seven lectures, delivered forty-five years ago at the Royal Institution before a mixed audience of ladies and gentlemen, on a series of topics never very popular in England, and much less considered at that time than now. Portions of some of them, with the modifications and amplifications which the change required, found their way into the early numbers of the Edinburgh Review, under the titles of Professional Education, Female Education, and Public Schools. The rest of the manuscript, being thrown aside as useless, was left among the author's papers in a neglected and mutilated form, in which state it was submitted to his early and constant friend, Lord Jeffrey, with a view to his opinion on the question of publication. This opinion is understood to have been adverse. Accordingly the work was printed, in the first instance, for private circulation, but was everywhere so favorably received as to induce the family to withhold it no longer from the world. Lord Jeffrey took the earliest opportunity to retract his former judgment, and to say, as we think he could with perfect justice, "The book seems to me to be full of good sense, acuteness, and right feeling, very clearly and pleasingly written, and with such a mixture of logical intrepidity, with the absence of all dogmatism, as is rarely met with in the conduct of such discussions."

At the same time we are not surprised that the great Edinburgh critic, when first applied to, should have spoken as discouragingly as he did, if, as is probable, he contented himself with glancing here and there at what remains of the First Course. The two lectures on the History of Philosophy are almost worthless, especially in what is said of the ancients and of the Continent, from the manifest incompetency of the lecturer to do justice to the subject. These are followed by five on the Intellect-

ual Faculties, most of them mere disjointed fragments of no considerable value; so much so, that we think it would have been better if they had been omitted entirely.

The Second Course, consisting of lectures on Wit and Humor, on Taste, on the Beautiful and the Sublime, and on the Faculties of Animals as compared with those of Men, is full of amusement and instruction. Take as a specimen what is said of the moral aspects of wit: —

"I wish, after all I have said about wit and humor, I could satisfy myself of their good effects upon the character and disposition; but I am convinced the probable tendency of both is, to corrupt the understanding and the heart. I am not speaking of wit where it is kept down by more serious qualities of mind, and thrown into the background of the picture; but where it stands out boldly and emphatically, and is evidently the master quality in any particular mind. Professed wits, though they are generally courted for the amusement they afford, are seldom respected for the qualities they possess. The habit of seeing things in a witty point of view increases, and makes incursions from its own proper regions, upon principles and opinions which are ever held sacred by the wise and good. A witty man is a dramatic performer: in process of time, he can no more exist without applause, than he can exist without air; if his audience be small, or if they are inattentive, or if a new wit defrauds him of any portion of his admiration, it is all over with him, — he sickens, and is extinguished. The applauses of the theatre on which he performs are so essential to him, that he must obtain them at the expense of decency, friendship, and good feeling. It must always be *probable*, too, that a *mere* wit is a person of light and frivolous understanding. His business is not to discover relations of ideas that are *useful*, and have a real influence upon life, but to discover the more trifling relations which are only amusing; he never looks at things with the naked eye of common sense, but is always gazing at the world through a Claude Lorraine glass, — discovering a thousand appearances which are created only by the instrument of inspection, and covering every object with factitious and unnatural colors. In short, the character of a *mere* wit it is impossible to consider as very amiable, very respectable, or very safe. So far the world, in judging of wit, where it has swallowed up all other qualities, judge aright; but I doubt if they are sufficiently indulgent to this faculty where it exists in a lesser degree, and as one out of many other ingredients of the understanding. There is an association in men's minds between dulness and wisdom, amusement and folly, which has a very powerful influence in decision upon char-

acter, and is not overcome without considerable difficulty. The reason is, that the *outward* signs of a dull man and a wise man are the same, and so are the outward signs of a frivolous man and a witty man; and we are not to expect that the majority will be disposed to look to much *more* than the outward sign. I believe the fact to be, that wit is very seldom the *only* eminent quality which resides in the mind of any man; it is commonly accompanied by many other talents of every description, and ought to be considered as a strong evidence of a fertile and superior understanding." — pp. 149 – 151.

On the subject of the influence of association in matters of taste, the lecturer thinks that Alison goes too far. He observes: —

"One circumstance, which appears to have led to these conclusions, is the example of those same sensations which are sometimes ludicrous, sometimes sublime, sometimes fearful, according to the ideas with which they are associated. For instance, the sound of a trumpet suggests the dreadful idea of a battle, and of the approach of armed men; but to all men brought up at Queen's College, Oxford, it must be associated with eating and drinking, for they are always called to dinner by sound of trumpet: and I have a little daughter at home, who, if she heard the sound of a trumpet, would run to the window, expecting to see the puppet-show of Punch, which is carried about the streets. So with a hiss: a hiss is either foolish, or tremendous, or sublime. The hissing of a pancake is absurd; the first faint hiss that arises from the extremity of the pit, on the evening of a new play, sinks the soul of the author within him, and makes him curse himself and his Thalia; the hissing of a *cobra di capello* is sublime, — it is the whisper of death! But all these instances prove nothing; for we are not denying that there are many sounds, tastes, and sights, which nature has made so indifferent, that association may make them any thing. It is very true what Mr. Alison says, 'that there are many sensations universally called sublime, which association may make otherwise.' This is true enough, but it is not to the purpose. I admit readily, that a fortuitous connection of thought can make it otherwise than sublime; but the question is, Did it receive from nature the character of sublime? Does *any* thing receive from nature the character of sublime, or the character of beautiful? And would any thing perpetually display, and constantly preserve, such character, if no accident intervened to raise up a contrary association? Certainty on such subjects cannot be attained; but I, for one, strongly believe in the affirmative of the question, — that Nature speaks to the mind of man *immediately*

in beautiful and sublime language; that she astonishes him with magnitude, appalls him with darkness, cheers him with splendor, soothes him with harmony, captivates him with emotion, enchants him with fame; she never intended man should walk among her flowers, and her fields, and her streams, unmoved; nor did she rear the strength of the hills in vain, or mean that we should look with a stupid heart on the wild glory of the torrent, bursting from the darkness of the forest, and dashing over the crumbling rock." — pp. 163, 164.

He gives the following admirable illustration of what is meant by *moral* beauty: —

"I have said a great deal about prospect and landscape; I will mention an action or two, which appear to me to convey as distinct a feeling of the beautiful as any landscape whatever. A London merchant, who, I believe, is still alive, while he was staying in the country with a friend, happened to mention that he intended, the next year, to buy a ticket in the lottery; his friend desired he would buy one for him at the same time, which of course was very willingly agreed to. The conversation dropped, the ticket never arrived, and the whole affair was entirely forgotten, when the country gentleman received information that the ticket purchased for him by his friend had come up a prize of £20,000. Upon his arrival in London, he inquired of his friend where he had put the ticket, and why he had not informed him that it was purchased. 'I bought them both the same day, mine and your ticket, and I flung them both into a drawer of my bureau, and I never thought of them afterwards.' 'But how do you distinguish one ticket from the other? and why am I the holder of the fortunate ticket, more than you?' 'Why, at the time I put them into the drawer, I put a little mark in ink upon the ticket which I resolved should be yours; and upon re-opening the drawer, I found that the one so marked was the fortunate ticket.' Now this action appears to me perfectly beautiful; it is *le beau ideal* in morals, and gives that calm, yet deep emotion of pleasure, which every one so easily receives from the beauty of the exterior world." — p. 209.

His two lectures on the Conduct of the Understanding abound in useful suggestions. We copy a characteristic passage on study, not as it generally is, but as it ought to be.

"Besides the shame of inferiority, and the love of reputation, curiosity is a passion very favorable to the love of study; and a passion very susceptible of increase by cultivation. Sound travels so many feet in a second; and light travels so many feet

in a second. Nothing more probable: but you do not care *how* light and sound travel. Very likely: but *make* yourself care; get up, shake yourself well, *pretend* to care, make believe to care, and very soon you *will* care, and care so much, that you will sit for hours thinking about light and sound, and be extremely angry with any one who interrupts you in your pursuits; and tolerate no other conversation but about light and sound; and catch yourself plaguing every body to death who approaches you, with the discussion of these subjects. I am sure that a man ought to read as he would grasp a nettle: — do it lightly, and you get molested; grasp it with all your strength, and you feel none of its asperities. There is nothing so horrible as languid study; when you sit looking at the clock, wishing the time was over, or that somebody would call on you and put you out of your misery. The only way to read with any efficacy is to read so heartily, that dinner-time comes two hours before you expected it. To sit with your Livy before you, and hear the geese cackling that saved the Capitol; and to see with your own eyes the Carthaginian suttlers gathering up the rings of the Roman knights after the battle of Cannæ, and heaping them into bushels; and to be so intimately present at the actions you are reading of, that, when any body knocks at the door, it will take you two or three seconds to determine whether you are in your own study, or in the plains of Lombardy, looking at Hannibal's weatherbeaten face, and admiring the splendor of his single eye; — this is the only kind of study which is not tiresome; and almost the only kind which is not useless: this is the knowledge which gets into the system, and which a man carries about and uses like his limbs, without perceiving that it is extraneous, weighty, or inconvenient." — pp. 277, 278.

Again, on the uses of conversation compared with books: —

"The advantage conversation has over all the other modes of improving the mind is, that it is more natural and more interesting. A book has no eyes, and ears, and feelings; the best are apt every now and then to become a little languid: whereas a living book walks about, and varies his conversation and manner, and prevents you from going to sleep. There is certainly a great evil in this, as well as a good; for the interest between a man and his living folio becomes sometimes a little too keen, and in the competition for victory they become a little too animated towards, and sometimes exasperated against, each other: whereas a man and his book generally keep the peace with tolerable success; and if they disagree, the man shuts his book, and tosses it into a corner of the room, which it might not be quite so safe or easy to do with a living folio. It is an incon-

venience in a book, that you cannot ask questions; there is no explanation: and a man is less guarded in conversation than in a book, and tells you with more honesty the little niceties and exceptions of his opinions; whereas in a book, as his opinions are canvassed where they cannot be explained and defended, he often overstates a point for fear of being misunderstood; but then, on the contrary, almost every man talks a great deal better in his books, with more sense, more information, and more reflection, than he can possibly do in his conversation, because he has more time.

"There are few good listeners in the world who make all the use that they might make of the understandings of others, in the conduct of their own. The use made of this great instrument of conversation is the display of superiority, not the gaining of those materials on which superiority may rightfully and justly be founded. Every man takes a different view of a question as he is influenced by constitution, circumstances, age, and a thousand other peculiarities; and no individual ingenuity can sift and examine a subject with as much variety and success as the minds of many men, put in motion by many causes, and affected by an endless variety of accidents. Nothing, in my humble opinion, would bring an understanding so forward, as this habit of ascertaining and weighing the opinions of others; — a point in which almost all men of abilities are deficient; whose first impulse, if they are young, is too often to contradict; or, if the manners of the world have cured them of that, to listen only with attentive ears, but with most obdurate and unconquerable entrails. I may be very wrong, and probably am so, but, in the whole course of my life, I do not know that I ever saw a man of considerable understanding respect the understandings of others as much as he might have done for his own improvement, and as it was just that he should do." — pp. 282, 283.

The Third and last Course treats of the Active Powers of the Mind, including the various affections, passions, and desires, and closes with two lectures on Habit. In this part of his work the author begins to betray symptoms of weariness of the subject; at any rate, he enters on the discussion of some of the disputed points with a very inadequate acquaintance with the merits of the question and the history of the controversy. In illustration of the last remark, we would refer to what he says of the *origin* of the passions, a topic on which he not only breaks with the Scotch, whom he generally follows, but takes the extreme ground maintained by the Hart-

leian school. Still, there is no lecture which could well be spared, and some of those now under consideration are among the most practically useful in the volume. In the following passage, the effect of civilization on the importance attached to the passions and affections is depicted in his peculiar manner.

"I take it to be a consequence of civilization, that all the feelings of mind which proceed from the body excite little sympathy, in comparison with those which have not a bodily origin. The loss of a leg or an arm is a dreadful misfortune; but the slightest disgrace would be considered as a much greater. To be laid up seven months by the gout every year is a piteous state of existence; to lose a brother or a sister is a state of existence, in common estimation, still more miserable. The slightest pang of jealousy, or wounded pride, may be brought upon the stage; but the most intense pain of body, introduced into a play, would excite laughter rather than compassion. Who would endure a tragedy, where the whole distress turned upon a fit of the palsy, or a smart rheumatic fever? Nothing could be more exquisitely ridiculous! The fact is, as a nation advances in the useful arts, all bodily evils are so much mitigated, and guarded against, that they cease to excite that sympathy which they formerly did, because they are less generally felt. How ridiculous, as I before remarked, a play would be, of which a hungry man were the hero! Why? — because we never suffer from extreme hunger, and have very little sympathy for it; there is hardly any such thing known in civilized society: the author himself would, probably, be the only man in the whole playhouse who had ever seriously felt the want of a dinner. But if a nation of savages were to see such a drama acted, they would see no ridicule in it at all; because starving to death is, among them, no uncommon thing: they are advanced such a little way in civilization, that to fill their stomachs is the great and important object of life: and I have no doubt, that, to an Indian audience, the loss of a piece of venison might be the basis of a tragedy which would fill every eye with tears; but, on the contrary, they might be very likely to laugh, to hear a man complain of his wounded honor, if it turned out that he had ten days' provisions beforehand in his cabin. In the same manner, the loss of a leg is the consummation of all evil, where there is nothing but body; but it becomes an evil of the lowest order, where there remain behind the pleasures of imagination, of elegant learning, of the fine arts, of all the luxuries and glories of civilization, — the tendency of which is always to put down and vilify every thing which belongs to the body, and to exalt all the feelings in which the mind alone is concerned. In some of the

Greek tragedies, there is an attempt to excite compassion by the representation of the agonies of bodily pain. Philoctetes cries out and faints from the extremity of his suffering, exclaiming upon the stage, 'O Jupiter! my leg, my leg!' Hippolytus and Hercules are both introduced as expiring under the severest torments. These attempts to excite compassion by the representation of bodily pain are certainly among the greatest breaches of decorum, of which the Greek theatre has set the example; and afford a strong suspicion that their audience was less elegant and refined than that which presides over our modern theatres. And the reason why such sort of appeals to the passions would not now be tolerated is not so much on account of the pain they would excite (because the sufferings of the mind excite pain), but because *bodily* pain is a dull, stupid, unvarying, uninteresting spectacle, in comparison with all those critical and delicate emotions of mind, which are universally felt in a state of civilization, — and in that state alone." — pp. 364–366.

Many readers of this work will be surprised to find that metaphysics, as the English persist in miscalling it, or the science of the human mind, can be made as fit a subject for popular lecturing as any of the physical sciences. Its leading topics are not so far removed from the range of ordinary thought; its language is by no means so technical or so unfamiliar; it is more capable than any other science of historical illustration and rhetorical embellishment; it has less to do with perplexing and unsettled questions than geology or physiology, both of which are now so much in vogue; and as for its paramount utility it is enough to say, that the knowledge of mind, or of human nature, is the knowledge of ourselves. J. W.

ART. V. — FEUERBACH'S ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.*

IT is somewhat noteworthy, that one of the comparatively few books dropped from the German press during the last year should have been a new edition of this

* *Das Wesen des Christenthum.* Von LUDWIG FEUERBACH. Dritte ungearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigaud. 1849. [The Essence of Christianity. By LUDWIG FEUERBACH. Third Edition, revised and improved.]

work of Feuerbach. More conclusive evidence of its popularity could not be found, nor — may we not add? — of its adaptation to the particular fervor of the time. Political agitation has had no good results for book-writers and book-printers, though we must do the Leipzig publishers the justice to say, that the peril to their pockets seems to have had little effect on their republican ardor. The times have a sympathy for Feuerbach. We are not aware what his political views may be, and indeed have been informed that those of his co-laborer, Strauss, are extremely conservative: but in the author of this book we can hardly fancy a very violent champion of the throne. Radicalism is a consuming fire, which has no animating principle but an intense hatred of the past; it devours without discrimination whatever is, that it may lay anew the foundations for its glorious future. It unites the hostility against church and state, and, whether voluntarily or not, compels them to serve the same purpose. As the great revolution of France was kindled and fed by hands that contributed to the pages of the Encyclopædia, we are not surprised to find the modern spirit of political reform putting itself in antagonism to Christianity; and it is a certain fact, that the radical leaders of modern Germany are as free-thinking in their way as the disciples of Voltaire, or that "proselyting atheist," Diderot.

But the atheism of Feuerbach, if as sweeping as that of the French school of accomplished materialists, is far more worthy our respect; it is the child of a grave and earnest philosophy, not of a frivolous buffoonery. If it loosens the reins of speculation, it never relaxes those of the morals; if it ascends to the seventh heaven of mystical speculation, it speaks always the intelligible language of earth; if it leaves us to the desolation of a godless universe, it does not plunder nor tarnish the jewel of our self-respect; if it annihilates Deity, it seeks to give every man something of the dignity of a god.

Feuerbach is a disciple of Hegel.* This book is the

* At different times during the last twenty years Feuerbach has appeared before the public, and his views are contained in a series of volumes, which bear the following titles: — "Philosophical Criticisms and Principles," — "Thoughts on Death and Immortality," — "History of Modern Philosophy from Bacon of Verulam to Benedict Spinoza," — "Exposition, Develop-

voice of what has been called the "Left Wing" of Hegelians. From the same ranks Bauer has given utterance to a "Biblisches Christenthum," and Strauss to a "Glaubenslehre" and a "Leben Jesu." Who is to decide whether all this array of speculation is Hegelianism, — legitimate offspring of the great principle? Could their master speak from his grave, he would probably disclaim them. But Hegelianism is fairly divided against itself; its good promises of unity have vanished into air; the completion of all philosophic speculation, the goal of all philosophic struggle, is but the starting-point of a new contest, and the vista of metaphysical wrangling opens as interminable as ever. And how soon the dream is past! The voice still rings in our ears; we seem to hear its pleasant assurance, that these intricate questions, which have vexed the brains of the learned from Heraclitus to Schelling, had received their final solution; that the mighty structure of metaphysical speculation, which had been built on with ceaseless toil and Babel confusion of tongues, had been crowned at last, and the capping-stone, whose elevation was celebrated with such solemn ceremonies, was the famous "principle of identity." But it is in vain; the boasted completion threatens to be but a Sisyphus's labor. A keen commentator affirms that Hegel has got hold of the same stone of which it is said, —

> "Glaubt er ihn aber
> Schon auf dem Gipfel zu drehn, da mit einmal stürzte die hast um
> Hurtig hinab mit Gepolter entrollte der tückische Marnur." *

The "principle of identity" has not even produced unity among its own disciples. They are diverging from each other in all directions, and we feel certain that the blank atheism of the book before us, if its legitimate deduction, would be more repulsive to none than to the great high-priest himself.

The various departments to which the Hegelian philosophy applies have been supported with unusual talent, and, what is a little remarkable, talent of the most prac-

ment, and Criticism of the Philosophy of Leibnitz," — "Pierre Bayle, a Contribution to the History of Philosophy and Manhood," — "The Essence of Christianity," and a "Supplementary Volume on the Essence of Christianity."

* "The huge round stone, resulting with a bound,
Thunders impetuous down, and smokes along the ground."
Pope's Odyssey, XI. 737.

tical character. They are in striking contrast to the dreamy votaries of Schelling, who revelled in their fantasies and "nur zum Genieszen eilten."* The theoretical philosophy from which the book before us springs is one of the most obscure and unintelligible the world has ever known, but the book itself is neither obscure nor unintelligible. It is an eminently popular book; it is written for the people; it is an attempt to bring the practical results of abstract principles within the scope of those who could never ascend to the fountain-head. It is more attractive in style than most works on this class of subjects, for it studiously avoids the use of uncouth nomenclature and awkward phrases. It has claim to that greatest beauty of style, complete simplicity; and if we are sometimes compelled to notice the paucity of ideas, and the constant recurrence of the ground-thought of the book, yet we cannot deny that it is always presented clothed in a pleasing variety of language. The product of a mystical philosophy, it is remarkable for its entire lack of any thing that approaches mysticism.

"I am at a heaven-wide difference," says the author (Vorrede, S. 10), "from those philosophers who tear their eyes out of their heads that they may think better; — for thought I need the senses, above all, the eyes."

And again (S. 19), — "I have written with a view to men in general, and to no faculty of philosophers. . . . . My object has been the greatest simplicity, clearness, and definiteness which the subject permits, so that each cultivated and thinking man can understand it, — mostly at least."

In this he has been perfectly successful: we have rarely read a book which united such acuteness of logic with such beauty of style; such depth of reasoning with such adaptation to the mass of readers. The novelty of thought continually charms us the more by the force of its expression, and this even while we are forced to dissent. That it is a popular book is attested by the fact, that it is the third edition which lies before us, and it is not a book which would be likely to gain access to the libraries of the clerical profession. These three editions must have all been sold to the people, and we well remember it as one of those books which lay on the

* *Hurried to enjoyment.* — Hegel.

reading-room tables of unhappy Baden among the latest novels, essays on republicanism, and pamphlets instructing in the best use of the rifle. Its society indicates the class it appeals to.

We know not how far this "left wing" may have participated in or sympathized with the sanguinary struggle which lately convulsed the ill-fated Palatinate. We do not remember having seen any of their names as members of provisionary governments, or prominent speakers in popular diets; but we are certain that their pens have more seriously wounded the divine right of kings than their swords could have done; and that such books as this, spread far and wide, must have had a serious influence on the popular political, as well as religious faith. A man may believe in the Pope, or the Grand Lama's consecrated pills; uproot his faith and you have no power over him longer. He has neither time nor the faculty to make a substitute for the faith of his infancy; you have taught him distrust, and that is a weapon he can turn against you as effectually as against error. Doubt, like the old man of the sea, rarely leaves its victim till it has borne down and mastered him. It requires omniscience itself to set the lines whither it shall go, and no farther. Every revolution, every reform, testifies to the fact that popular ignorance mistakes trifles for essentials, and values them equally; that error always is slain at the expense of truth. Lutheranism had its Anabaptists, freedom has its Red Republicans, and therefore we say that Feuerbach, *nolens volens*, propagates atheism and republicanism together. Is it not then a singular spectacle, and one we might moralize on? Here is a speculation which not one man in ten thousand could understand, or even see any thing in it but the most ridiculous absurdity, an idea born in the mind of a retired student, which your practical man scouts and sneers at, arising at last armed and powerful, ready to light the flame of revolution and wield the scourge of war over one of the fairest portions of the globe. So true is it, that abstract principles revenge themselves for neglect or abuse, or vindicate the power of truth.

The German church and state are so closely connected, that Christianity appears in that distracted country as the champion of conservatism, and political re-

form makes often common battle against them both. Much that Feuerbach advances against Christianity in general has the terrific aspect of truth to the Lutheran Christian, whose creed, forced down his throat by the state, he *feels* to be "nothing but show." There, too, the hostility against effete organizations and doctrines is itself deeply tinctured by the religious element; sometimes it is the product of fervent religious emotion. The opponents of Christianity therefore stand there to advantage, and strike at a foe whose hands are bound by creeds and customs. No one can feel and relish that advantage more than our friend Feuerbach. Whatever else he may be, he is certainly no covert enemy. He lays no ambuscade of pious ejaculation to entrap the unwary reader, but comes boldly forth to grasp our hand, if a friend, or to give manly battle, if a foe. With him there are no soft words, no choice of phrases, no insidious professions of friendship. All is open and aboveboard, and we thank him that he tells us so freely what he thinks of us. We know how to deal with such an adversary. That weapon is deadliest whose slight wound lulls us into carelessness, while the fatal poison weakens the system. Ludwig's cleaver has no poison about it, but he strikes as if he meant to do the work at once, and leave no vestige of us on the face of the earth. Listen how soundly he berates us all: —

"The essence of the time is *show*. Show, our morality; show, our politics; show, our religion; show, our science. He who speaks the truth is impertinent, immoral; truth is the immorality of the time." — p. 6.

"I have only betrayed the secret of the Christian religion, only rent the theological veil of lies and deceit; — if my book is negative, irreligious, atheistic, remember that atheism, in the sense of this book, is the secret of religion itself." — p. 12.

"Religion is the dream of the human soul."

"Christianity has long since disappeared, not only from the reason, but from the life of man: it is nothing more than a *fixed idea*, which stands in the most direct contrast with our fire and life assurance companies, our railroads and carriages, our periacotheks and glyptotheks, our military and mercantile schools, our theatres and museums." — p. 15.

This is our first greeting. It is bold and fair: we are not enticed to read his book without knowing the con-

clusions to which we shall be allured. If these introductory assertions startle or surprise, it is because we are not familiar with speculations of this character, and have not gone through the requisite training. We have not had the "Phenomenology" in our hands. The philosophy which claims to be philosophy perfected remains "a veiled mystery except to the initiated." It has never been current here to undermine our attachment to Christianity. But our author we believe to be a legitimate child of Hegelianism, and his book the legitimate product of Hegelian influences. The course of speculative philosophy, from Locke to the present, naturally closes in Diderot on the one side, and in Feuerbach on the other. The two streams coursing in opposite directions join their waters at last on the dreary wastes of atheism. The materialism of David Hume was succeeded by the profound speculations of Kant, who roused his gigantic powers to throw off the chains which the acute Scot had forged and riveted upon the human reason. Kant steps forth the champion of the subjective element, and in vindicating its claims he lays the foundation of an authority which is destined to be as tyrannical as the one he was resisting. The idealism of Fichte, as profound and beautiful as it is exaggerated, is a natural result of Kantian principles, and here the mind is already all in all, and the objective world practically annihilated. Still there remains some external existence, which, however degraded and powerless, is obstinate and not easily disposed of, and it is left for Hegel to continue the course of speculation to that grand and "final discovery," that subject and object are *identical*. The honor of this discovery has been claimed by Schelling, but Hegel alone has been venturesome enough to carry it out to its true results. It is hard to comprehend the principles on which this profound philosophy is based, but it is not hard to understand the conclusions to which it leads us. Of course, God has no such existence as we have usually assigned him, — an objective existence, of which our souls can take some cognizance. The Deity of such a philosophy does not deserve the title of *Being*. It is a "*natura naturans*" continually unfolding itself, and arriving at *self-consciousness* first in the human mind. This philosophy, unlike most pantheistic speculations, recog-

nizes no substance outside itself. Every soul is a part of this God, which is in constant transition, ever unfolding itself in obedience to its own laws.

This is the philosophy which has given us Strauss and Feuerbach. If Hegel, even with such singular notions of the Deity, retained some respect for that part of our nature commonly called the *religious* perception, the young Hegelians have no such weakness. Strauss's "Life of Jesus" forces historical Christianity into conformity with the great law of development, a law deduced from philosophic principles, and an exception to which no force of testimony can establish. Feuerbach brings the internal character of Christianity to the same Procrustean bed. He will demonstrate to us that religion is "a dream of the human soul," because, in worshipping God, man worships himself. "It lies in the interest of religion to represent God as separate from man," and Christianity is an illusion, because its essence consists in "the sundering of human nature," and the imaginary relation of separate parts which exist only in unity.

The opening chapters of this book contain its philosophy and the principles of its criticism of Christianity, —they contain affirmative propositions; these once mastered and agreed to, we need ask no more. We can draw our own deductions, without farther assistance from our teacher. We have in few words the key to the system, the constantly recurring idea of the book; we might open at random, and we should not fail to find it on the page before us, diluted or condensed, naked or tricked out with fantastic drapery, still the same old friend, — "Das absolute Wesen, der Gott des Menschen ist sein eigenes Wesen," — "The absolute Being, man's God, is his own being." This is the great discovery to which Herr Feuerbach's "identity" clew has led him. It is a statement easily made, and as easily comprehended. To analyze the process, and point out any steps of *proof* which may lead to such a conclusion, would be a more difficult task. Herr Feuerbach stands on the other side of the river, and beckons us with violent gesticulations to come over and join him. It is in vain we entreat him to point out the stepping-stones where we may pass over dry-shod; we get nothing in

reply but beckonings and incoherent shouts; we must take the logical vault which seems to have carried him there, or remain where we are. We give the gist of a page or two of this affirmative part of the book.

"Religion is based on the essential difference between man and beast: beasts have no religion: but this difference is in consciousness the knowledge of himself: man has a knowledge of himself which differs from that of the beast both in kind and degree, — he knows himself as an individual and also as one of a species; man alone has a twofold life, an inward and an outward, — his inward life is one 'im Verhaltniss zu seiner Gattung, seinem Wesen.' But this distinction between man and beast is not only the ground, but also the *object*, of religion. But religion is the consciousness of the Infinite; it is and can, then, be nothing but man's consciousness of his own infinite being."

Truly a vast amount gained in a page and a half!

"Man is nothing without an object, — that alone calls out the activity of his powers. In an object he sees himself as in a mirror, — his object is his own revealed being. Sun, moon, and stars call to man, Γνῶθι σαυτόν, for to each man they appear different, and that each sees them as he sees them is a witness to his own being. Since God is but our own being, the might of any object over us is the might of our own being. In willing, loving, feeling, etc., there is no influence but of ourselves over ourselves.

"All limiting of the reason rests on error. An individual may be conscious of a limitation in himself, but only because the infinity and perfection of the species is an object of his consciousness. A man's feeling of shame may bind the fetters he feels as an individual on the whole race, but it is delusion; it is delusion to suppose the nature of man a limited nature. Each being finds satisfaction in itself, (Jedes Wesen ist sich selbst genug,) — its limits exist only for another being beyond and above it."

Why not, then, *God*, friend Feuerbach? Why not measure human life and greatness by the life and greatness of the Infinite Spirit, as the worm is limited, not for itself, but for man?

"If you think infinity or feel infinity, it is the infinity of thought and feeling; nothing else. The knowledge of God is the knowledge of ourselves, for the religious object is within us, — as a man's thoughts so his God, and *vice versâ*, as a man's God so his thoughts. God is man's revealed inner nature, his pronounced self. Religion is the solemn unveiling of the con-

cealed treasures of humanity, the disclosure of its secret thoughts, the confession of its dearest secrets. The Christian religion is the relation of man to his own being as to another being. God is a collection of predicates without subjective existence."

And so on.

We admire the skill and coolness with which Feuerbach begins his work. We admire the manner in which he takes for granted before our face the very propositions we were waiting to hear demonstrated, and we are ready to give our author the palm for audacity, if not for logic. Why, the first thing we light on is the proclamation that the *object of religion* is manhood, as distinct from the nature of beasts, and that we have nothing to do but worship ourselves. Grant this, and we need trouble ourselves about "the essence of Christianity" no more; it will not be worth our while to follow out his deductions.

The truth spoken in these pages we perceive and acknowledge; we wish it could be preached in every pulpit in Christendom how much of anthropomorphism there is in our religion. No doctor of divinity could better illustrate that beautiful text of Christianity, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," than Herr Feuerbach has done. The human mind *must* tinge the nature of God with something of its humanity, for we bear the character in outline as it were within us; an indefinite conception, which every man must fill up as his disposition suggests. Our God is, in a certain sense, as various as are our characters, and one man worships love, another power, another beauty. So far we agree with our author, so far we bear God within us, and are gods to ourselves; but farther we cannot go, and we have no method left for us to deal with him, save to oppose assertion to assertion. We have no other way left to deal with him, for it is his very postulates and axioms which most startle us. When a man comes to us and says, "The absolute Being is only ourselves," and that on one of the opening pages of his book, we can only say in reply, "We do not believe it." If he adds that "in sensuous things there is an object beyond us, in religious only an object within," and then proceeds to affirm, that "here applies without limitation the proposition, The object of man is nothing but his own objec-

tive being," we have only to say, "We cannot follow the logic," and yet it is on such a bold affirmation as this that the whole book rests.

We find no rock of offence in the statement that different characters entertain different conceptions of God, nor do we see why it would not be perfectly natural that a bird or a flower, supposing it endowed with taste and the religious faculties, should fancy its God in the form of a bird or a flower. We claim as the essence of religion the very truth which Feuerbach here acknowledges for his own purposes, that very yearning after something greater than ourselves, which is as wide-spread as manhood. It may take the countless shapes of national or of individual character, Jupiter, or Dagon, or fire, or the ox, or serpent, still *a God.*

It is folly to talk of *demonstrating* God's existence; we cannot argue with a man to whom it is not a matter of inward consciousness, any more than we can discuss colors with a blind man. God's being is an object of faith, and not of demonstration, and all attempts at proof have been signal failures. "L'instrument par lequel la persuasion se fait n'est pas la seule demonstration," says Pascal. "Combien y a-t-il peu de choses démoutreés! ..... La coutume fait nos preuves le plus fortes."—"The instrument by which conviction is effected is not solely demonstration. How few things there are which can be demonstrated! Custom gives us our strongest proofs." If we do not believe God is because we cannot believe otherwise, then we despair of conviction by ontological arguments, or by arguments of design. Human nature decides the matter for itself; its "Wesen" calls for a God, and worship is as much a want of manhood as eating or sleeping. Schleiermacher, that noblest product of the Christian mystical philosophy of the present century, has put this matter on its right basis, and there is no page of psychology which contains a deeper truth than that impressive text of Mark, "Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall not enter therein." Feuerbach himself apprehends it, when he says, "The childish feeling is the essence of religion." Religion is not knowledge or speculation, it is feeling, and that feeling, we are convinced, is not condemned to the miserable frivolous de-

ceit of wasting itself upon itself, like a kitten in pursuit of its tail. It has an object; an existing, independent object. Our book says, "There is a consciousness of an infinite object," but it is a gratuitous assertion that that object *is* only in our sickly fancies. "Religion is based on the essential difference of man from beast." But what is that difference? The lower creation, its physical wants supplied, is contented and satisfied: not so with man; he finds in his breast a latent dissatisfaction, which seems peculiar to him as a rational creature. The sphere in which he moves seems sometimes narrow and contracted. He would fain get beyond it, but Earth holds him in with the impenetrable walls of her prison-cell, and his body drags him down, like heavy fetters that for long years have rested on him, — the very struggle gives him an acuter pain, the iron hath so eaten into his limbs. Yet why is it that man cannot eat his bread and drink his water from the hand of his jailer, and sink back to rest, like the dog at his feet, contented with his lot? Why is it that he alone cannot slumber away the hours, or pace, within the realm of possibility his chains permit him to traverse, the worn stone around his dungeon pillar? Why is it that that stream of early light which breaks through the grating, and pencils on yonder ever-dripping stone its report of life and freedom without, and the bird that by chance flew past his window this morning, with lightest carol, give him thoughts of another world, the rushing of free winds and the waving of forest boughs as they march under them? Why is it that the low arch above him seems at times to dissolve and break away, and there bends over him only the blue vault of ether, with the serene stars, like the all-seeing eyes of God, and when he comes back again his chains seem heavier, his dungeon damper and more stifling? Why is it that he alone so aspires, if it be only so to suffer, and the very faculties of finer mould seem made only to be sources of torment? Why is it that he must find his anguish mocked by the contented satisfaction of those who share his captivity, and the calm routine with which day follows day?

He is a *man*, and, though he has many organs like the beasts, he has actually little kindred with them. It is said of the Indian dragon, — the truthful Philostratus is

our authority, — that if you cleave the skull you will find a sparkling jewel in his brain. Open the heart of a human being, and you will find the signet that seals his claim to manhood. It is the sense of that which surpasses all mental powers, the conception of that greatness which lip cannot define, nor pen nor pencil illustrate; it is the knowledge of that power which transcends all limits, that infinity which has existence for man alone of all mortal beings. It is Feuerbach's "Wesen der Gattung"; it is God.

We should be less inclined to dispute the question of subjective existence, if Feuerbach could give us any pledge for the preservation of our relations to this Being expressed by religion. But this neither he nor any other man can do. You pluck the heart out of religion when you take *life* from God's attributes. This book would palm off on man a miserable show, a paltry idol, toward whom those affectionate feelings expressed by religion could not exist for a moment. And on this ground we tell the author that he has either made a grievous mistake or plays a despicable game with human feelings. The distinction between man and beast is the conception of an object of worship in the breast of the former. Feuerbach flings in our faces the anthropomorphism of this conception, and tries to make us think we adore our shadow. But with all its human traits it remains always a great being, and powerful enough to be a protector of man. We ever glory in that superior wisdom of Christianity which embodies its disclosures of that Being in two words, — Our Father. Religion asks no more; you may worship Dagon, if you will, benevolent Dagon giving you the plough to till your land, — only be to him a dutiful child. This is the sacred and essential truth of religion, which can never survive a transplanting into the atmosphere of Feuerbach's philosophy.

It would be a great mistake to suppose a man a more *religious* man because his conceptions of spiritual things are clearer than another's. It is not religion that you are able to assure us that the Gueber fire, or the Egyptian snake, or the justice of Calvinism, is not God, or, affirmatively, that he is a spirit of all wisdom and love, of all space and time. The fountain lies higher than that. The truer your conceptions of God, the less idolatrous

you will be, or the less superstitious. But if the fountain above be not fed, there will be no worship to flow from it, and your pure comprehension of God will be but a vain image, before which no knee bows, no heart adores. There will be in your soul a statue of truth, beautiful and chaste in its proportions as the hand of a Praxiteles may chisel, but after all cold and lifeless; a representation in passionless marble of that whose greatest and truest beauty is life and action. The life of religion is the warmth and glow of feeling. The fire of fervid feeling radiates often from that phase of religion which enlightenment calls *superstition!* If superstition be fixed by the amount of knowledge, what is our religion but superstition to the angels, as the religion of birds toward their bird deity would be superstition to us? An infant's religion centres in its parents, and has no thought beyond them. Is not this superstition? Yet it is such perfect religion, that there is nothing left us but to imitate it. Wherever you find the human race, there is the same tendency to religion. Religion is as wide-spread as the atmosphere: it is like the clouds which swathe the whole earth with their moist garments, which send down at the pole the feathering snow-flake, or build up the sharp and glittering pinnacles of the iceberg, but at the equator temper the heat of a sultry sun, and glow in the leaves of the palm and the orange. It adapts itself to all parallels of latitude, and to all periods of time. Here it springs up in one form, there in another. Here it erects altars to Baal, there it kneels between the bare and empty walls of a Puritan church. Here it asks no other temple than the mountain peak, no other God than the golden sun; there it wreathes its spiritual yearnings into the fantastic spires of the Gothic temple, while within the spirit of God speaks through the arches in the pealings of organ-music, and the eye is filled by gorgeous garments and smoking censers, and the heavenly features of "the Mother of God."

Through all these forms there runs the same connecting line; under all these varieties there exists a unanimity. They are all expressions of the same burning want and weakness, they are all the product of a resistless tendency to combine certain attributes, and worship them as an independent being. It is the same cry to

the Father of men which rises on the banks of the Euphrates and the Hudson; amid the din of gongs, or from the minarets of the mosque, or with the solemn bass of the organ. And is the whole human race deceived, and has Feuerbach alone, with his "left wing," found out the illusion?

The two chapters on the nature of man and of religion in general are simply introductory; but religion, in the common sense of the word, is annihilated long before we get through them. We have in them the powder and shot, and we think, with such effective means, a man may knock down for himself; Feuerbach (his name is suggestive of his temper) does it for us in two parts, long and diluted. The first, interspersed with violent philippics against the old automaton, fills by far the larger part. On these two parts the author dwells with some complacency in his preface. He calls them respectively *development* and *battle*. "The development proceeds slowly, swiftly the struggle; for at each station the development is *self-satisfied*, but the struggle only at the end. Thoughtful is the development, but resolute the struggle. The development kindles light, the struggle fire; hence the variety of the two parts." — p. 13.

In accordance with the general principles already laid down, it is shown that the various doctrines of Christianity are natural suggestions of the human soul, and the inference is drawn, that such a religion must be a dream, an illusion. Christianity, to our minds, appeals with justice to her adaptedness to man's position, to her satisfaction of his aspirations in the future, as proofs of her essential truth. We have faith in a religion which assists our development, and contributes to our happiness; faith in the mutual correspondency between that and man, as between the rose, the light, the atmosphere and temperature of a northern climate. But, No! says Feuerbach; you dream, and that very correspondency demonstrates your illusion. What you imagine the gift of a superior wisdom springs spontaneously from your own desires, and you are the victim of a miserable self-deceit. He then lays bare the principles of human nature, and explains the office they have performed in religion. We are taught how the incarnation of God and the idea of God as a sufferer sprang from the wants of the affec-

tionate portion of our nature. God as law, God the Father is the God of the understanding: God as love, God the Son is the God of the heart. We find discussed here, in accordance with the same principle, the doctrines of "the Mother of God," of providence, of miracles, of faith, of regeneration, of celibacy and monasticism, of the Christian heaven and personal immortality. "We have now," says he in closing (p. 253), "reduced the super-earthly, supernatural, and superhuman being of God to the component parts of man's being, as its own component parts. We have in conclusion come back to our beginning. Man is the beginning of religion, man the middle point of religion, man the end of religion."

The second part is a series of thunder-and-lightning chapters, in which Ludwig amuses himself by knocking in pieces our most disjointed structures of theological faith. He demonstrates the *contradiction* in our various doctrines and ceremonies. He has previously shown their natural origin; he now shows them to be essentially false. Blow follows blow, in such rapid succession, that, almost before we have had time to think, we are standing dizzied and bewildered, with the fragments of our old homestead scattered and smoking. We lay aside the book, with a sense of pity for its complete desolation. We feel that it would rob us of much that is dear, and give us nothing in return. We feel, too, that he has dealt unfairly by us. He has dragged up and galvanized doctrines which have been dead for ages; he has harped on points peculiar to sects, and made much show of dogmas which we esteem no part of Christianity. We are safe in saying, that the author of "Das Wesen des Christenthum" has studiously avoided discussing that which is commonly regarded by all Christians as the true essence of their religion. He has a specious frankness, which is the most dangerous weapon of a wily man, and a skill which mingles true and false that it may slay the two together. He either misunderstands or wilfully perverts Christianity, and, pretending to treat of its essence, fills his pages with ridicule of the errors that have been appended to it.

When we have protested against the fundamental affirmative doctrine of the book, we are ready to sanction much that follows. The weapons of his satire fall point-

less and harmless among us, for the dogmas aimed at have long been dead. The vigor and power of the attack we admire, and close the book with a conviction of the author's genius. To our minds, it is the sharpest, deepest, and most attractive *exposé* of theological error we have ever seen, and the controversialist may find there a store of weapons which, well used, will prove most effectual against the effete dogmas which burden Christianity. H. D.

Art. VI. — FURNESS'S HISTORY OF JESUS.*

When, in the year 1836, Mr. Furness published his "Remarks on the Four Gospels," we well remember the delight with which we read those living pages. The book differed from every other work of criticism and commentary on the New Testament in this, that it trembled all over with life, vital in every part. It did not give us dead learning, it did not accumulate the dry details of antiquated criticism, but it seemed as if written by one who had just come from personal intercourse with Jesus himself. The acuteness of its observations illustrated many obscure points of the Gospels. The earnest interest which hung lovingly over every word and act of Jesus often detected what a less loyal and affectionate study had overlooked. Reading the book gave a new sense of reality to the whole of Christ's history. One felt nearer to Jesus, better acquainted with his character, and more intimate with that holy mind, in consequence of these studies of Mr. Furness. Upon those of us, especially, who were then young, this book made a deep impression, and we owe to it a large debt. In fact, like every *live* book, it made an epoch. It excited inquiry, opened new questions, and stirred the earth around the roots of old controversies.

After an interval of fourteen years, Mr. Furness speaks to us again, and again upon his favorite subject. We

* *A History of Jesus.* By W. H. Furness. Boston: William Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1850. pp. 291.

cannot expect a second book like the first. Only once in any man's life is he capable of writing out of such an overflow of thought and feeling. The second book will not make an epoch, but it will throw a steadier, calmer light on many points of interest. It is, as we might expect, written in a more equal, less excited tone. There is as deep an interest in Jesus running through it, and as earnest a desire to engage others in his story. But as in the first work we had the exuberant spring, with its multitudinous blossoms, and the joyous year rising like the ocean-tide around us, so now we have the calm days of autumn, its steady airs, its wide-waving harvests, and its fruits ready to drop into the lifted hand. Mr. Furness has more carefully considered his early theories, — he has fortified some points and abandoned others, — and now presents us in a compact form, not discussions, but results; not investigations, but conclusions.

In the same truth-loving spirit in which the book is written we wish to examine it. And if we devote more of our attention to fault-finding than to merit-finding, it will certainly not be because we undervalue the great merits of the work, but because we think that the times demand the examination of a special question in theology. This is the question of Naturalism and Supernaturalism, a question lying back of most other questions now mooted in theology, — lying behind the discussion of miracles, of the inspiration and authority of the Bible, of sin and salvation, of providence, faith, and prayer. Our view on this pivotal question colors necessarily our views upon these others, and determines necessarily, though often unconsciously, our conclusions concerning them. It is because this seems to us no mere verbal dispute, but a question of real differences of opinion, working a radical divergence of thought, that we think it deserves a new and thorough examination in this periodical.

And since Mr. Furness, with his usual frankness, has in the present work distinctly taken the ground of Naturalism, it seems to us that the notice of his book necessarily involves the examination of this, its fundamental principle, and furnishes a proper occasion for this inquiry. But we will first briefly state what we conceive to be the chief merits and defects of the work.

The merits of this "History of Jesus" are these. It

is a clear, simple narrative of *some* of the events of the life of Jesus. With no show of learning, with no references to commentaries or ancient controversies, it gives us, what is most valuable in learning, a plain and satisfactory solution of vexed questions. Where Mr. Furness has nothing to say, he says nothing. He aims at no totality, at no exhausting analysis. Many events he passes over lightly, many he passes over altogether. He dwells only on what interests him, and this he makes interesting to the reader. And who can say how great is our obligation to the man who can interest us anew in that old story,—who can make words which had become trite even in our childhood fresh with new significance to our mature thought? To remove the dust from the Gospel narrative, so that custom shall not "stale its infinite variety,"—to stamp it anew with the image of perpetual youth,—this surely is a great exploit, and this Mr. Furness has accomplished. It is said that, by the combined efforts of English and Italian lovers of art, a portrait of Dante painted by Giotto has been discovered under the paint, plaster, and dirt of centuries, and has been successfully restored. But how much more do we owe to him who can give us again, not "the starved lineaments of Dante,"* but the living features of Jesus, rescued from the concealments of association and the deadening influence of that custom, which, says the poet,

> "Lies upon us with a weight,
> Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life."

Especially does Mr. Furness give us the human excellences of the character of Jesus. His book is a new manifestation of the Son of Man. In a multitude of instances he indicates the surpassing purity, truth, tenderness, and disinterested love, which appeared in all the life of Christ. Passing by and almost denying the conscious virtue which resulted from every purpose and endeavour, he shows us the goodness which played unconsciously in lambent flames around that divine brow. If goodness be of two kinds, which we may distinguish by such antitheses as inward and outward, intention and action, spirit and beauty, inward principle

* "Never before did I so lively see the starved lineaments of Dante."—Sir Thomas Browne.

and outward development, and so on, — then Mr. Furness has seen and described the latter form of goodness almost exclusively. The goodness of Jesus, in his view, is beauty; is unconscious utterance, naïve expression; is the necessary development of his nature; is not work, but play; is the ripe fruit, not the struggling bud or opening blossom.

And to a certain extent, no doubt, this is true. It is, at best, half the truth. We believe that goodness consists in intention as well as in manifestation, and that the goodness of Jesus was not unconscious, though spontaneous. Still, this side of the character of Jesus has never had justice done to it before. The Church hitherto has been so dazzled by the glory of the Son of God, that it has neglected the beauty of the Son of Man. Mr. Furness has studied so lovingly and faithfully the beauty of the Son of Man, that he has neglected the glory of the Son of God. The personal character of Jesus has so much interested him that he has not seen in him a medium for the transmission of the Divine truth and majesty. Herbert says, that

> "A man who looks on glass
> On *it* may stay his eye;
> Or, if he chooses, *through it* pass,
> And so the heavens espy."

The Church, hitherto, has chosen to look through the finite to the infinite, and see in Jesus only a manifestation of God. Mr. Furness, on the other hand, stays his eye on the transparent medium itself, and, charmed with its crystal beauty, he does not dwell on what is beyond.

We are afraid, after all, that by these statements and illustrations we have been doing injustice to the view of Mr. Furness. We certainly do not mean to say that Mr. Furness denies the Divinity of Christ, or does not see in him a manifestation of God's truth and law. In a certain sense he admits and teaches both. But that we may not misrepresent him, we will extract the passage in which he states his view of Jesus as a wonderful person, and yet as being on the plane of our common nature.

"At what early age a sense of his great powers began to awaken in him, I cannot tell. That he was most graciously and specially endowed by nature, — a being of extraordinary com-

pleteness and elevation, — that his natural gifts were unprecedented, his whole history shows. Of all born of woman, no one has appeared like him. He represented, not a class or an age, but humanity in its highest form.

"But when I speak of him thus, as one by himself, I would have it distinctly understood, that I do not consider his being as a miracle in any other sense than that in which the being of every man, of every thing, is a miracle. Peculiar, original, as he was, his existence was strictly within the course of nature. There is nothing in nature that forbids — every thing, in fact, authorizes us to look for — every variety of endowment, both in kind and degree, in individuals. There is nothing in nature that renders it impossible for a human being to be born, possessed of all the gifts which Jesus possessed. I believe, therefore, that all the power which he manifested, his intuitive perception of truth, his prophetic insight, that great gift by which, with a simple act of his will, he subdued disease, restored sight to the blind, and called the dead out of their deep sleep, were all native to him; that all these things came just as easily and naturally to him as the most common movements of our limbs do to us." — pp. 27, 28.

We take this to be a plain statement of the *principle* of naturalism, as opposed to supernaturalism. Now naturalism, as opposed to supernaturalism, is exclusive naturalism. Its principle does not consist in denying miracles. The naturalist may accept all or most of the miracles of the New Testament, as Mr. Furness does, while he explains them as flowing out of the established order of nature. Nor does the principle of naturalism consist in denying the inspiration or authority of the New Testament. For the naturalist may believe in a natural inspiration, and may contend, as Mr. Furness does, that it is found in its very highest degree in the writings of the New Testament, giving them an authority of insight which justifies even the claim of a verbal inspiration.* Nor does the principle of naturalism con-

* Mr. Furness thinks that the writers were sometimes mistaken. But he says, — "The character of Jesus himself is hardly more fully impressed with truth and nature than these accounts of him which have come down to us. Their authors tell the story with such simplicity, with such unbounded carelessness, with such an entire absence of any thought but of stating facts just as they seemed to them, so all unconscious were they of the True Spirit by which they were animated to their work, that the Life of Jesus, as it is told in the Four Gospels, appears emphatically to have written itself. It is what it is, by no design of their authors; by no human will. These writings 'grew as grows the grass.' The old doctrine of

sist in denying the perfect sinlessness and perfect knowledge of Jesus. We may argue that it is in the order of nature that one man should attain this perfection, and contend, as Mr. Furness does, that others might attain it also. Nor, finally, does naturalism consist in denying what are called the "peculiar doctrines" of Christianity, and accepting only the doctrines common to natural religion. The naturalist may accept the church doctrines of the Trinity, total depravity, vicarious atonement, and so forth; but accept them, like the modern Hegelians, as developments of human reason.

"But," it may be asked, "if naturalism can believe in the miracles of the New Testament, can believe in the inspiration and authority of the Bible, in the perfect character of Jesus, and in the church doctrines of orthodoxy, what *is* its peculiarity, and where is the harm of it?" We answer, that naturalism relates to the principle, and not the substance, of belief. We must look for it behind the facts believed, in the fundamental principle of belief itself. And since we have seen that a man may be a naturalist and yet believe all that the supernaturalist believes, and perhaps more, we admit that there may be no harm to an individual in holding to this system. But in the long run, we believe that, like all other errors, it is sure to produce evil consequences. In the long run it will be sure to shake our belief in all the higher facts and doctrines of the New Testament, to destroy our confidence in the New Testament itself as a trustworthy record, to weaken especially the faith of the world in the divine love and pardoning grace of God, and shake the foundations of a living dependence on the God who hears and answers prayer. Because we believe it an erroneous and defective system, we reject it; because we believe it, in the long run, an injurious system, we oppose it.

All prevailing views on this fundamental question, we believe, may be classed under four divisions, as follows: — 1. Exclusive Naturalism. 2. Exclusive Supernaturalism. 3. Supernatural Rationalism. 4. Rational Supernaturalism. Let us examine them briefly, in order.

Plenary Inspiration in regard to them comes true after all; and true in a far deeper and more natural sense than has yet been imagined." — p. 265.

1. Exclusive Naturalism.

The essential principle of naturalism is this, — that God acts *only* through nature. It is based on the idea of the Divine laws, of the great order of the universe. Its fundamental notion concerning religion is that of development. All progress is the unfolding of germs originally deposited in the creation. Naturalism is so in love with law, that it shrinks from the thought of any new incursion from above into the order of nature. It cannot believe in a God outside of nature, or above nature. Every thing that comes to pass in time is part of the great web of cause and effect which was woven in the beginning. Every thing that happens is the continuation of the old series, the effect of something which went before. Thus, the naturalist must explain the life and works of Jesus as resulting from causes already at work in the world before he entered it, and not as a new descent of the life of God into humanity.

The truth in naturalism is this, — that it recognizes God in nature. Not a bud swells, not a flower opens, not a child is born, not a nation rises and declines, but God is there. The naturalist gladly accepts the great language of Paul, — "From him, and through him, and to him are all things." "In him we live, and move, and have our being." God is in the grain which waves broadly over a thousand fields, — God is in the sea which sleeps on the warm, sandy shore of the tropics, or thunders among the grinding icebergs of the polar seas.

The truth in naturalism is also this, — that it recognizes fully that God is not an arbitrary Being, but a God of perfect justice; that he rules by law; that he maintains with steady hand the beneficent order of creation. Without wilfulness and without the shadow of turning, firmly maintaining his great laws, the God of nature infuses into his worshippers the calmness and strength which are in himself. The naturalist has no ecstatic hopes, no sudden fears, no enthusiasm of any kind; he hopes for no magical change in life or at death; he sees that gradation is the law of all progress; he sees that as a man soweth, so doth he also reap, — that God is not unrighteous to forget the smallest work or labor of love, — and that, as not a grain of sand can be lost from the universe, so not a good act or thought can ever fail of its reward.

The defect of naturalism is, that, while it recognizes God as the INFINITE LAW, it does not recognize him also as the INFINITE FREEDOM. It is ignorant that God was not only a creator when the worlds were first made, but is always a creator, — that he must necessarily continue to originate new series, no less than to carry on the old. It not only deprives God of wilfulness, in which it is right, but of will, in which it is wrong, — it not only sees that God is law, but makes him nothing but law. Hence the Deity of the naturalist becomes merely the sum of the laws of the universe, or at best a power, a force, acting according to law. Therefore the personality of God at last vanishes away, and instead of the true pantheism, which teaches that God is *in* all things, we are in danger of the false, which teaches that all things are God.

2. Exclusive Supernaturalism.

This system is the antithesis of the former. Its essential principle is this, — that God acts *only* from above nature. It is based on the idea of the Divine will, of God sitting on his throne and ruling by his power for ever. Its fundamental notion concerning religion is that of emanation. Religion is not unfolded out of man's nature, but is a power emanating from God to change man's nature altogether. All progress depends on continued acts of the Divine will. Supernaturalism is so in love with the idea of God's sovereignty, that it cannot bear that it should be limited even by God's wisdom and benevolence. Exalting the Divine will above all law, it makes of it a Divine wilfulness, and substitutes an arbitrary choice in the place of a holy nature. It cannot believe in a God immanent in nature, and calls such a belief Pantheism. Nature, to the supernaturalist, is but a congeries of forces, originally set in motion by God, but disturbed in their operation since by the incursion of evil. Nature is ruined and fallen, and is now no manifestation of God. Some traces of the artist's original design may yet be discerned in its adaptations, but only as we trace the mind of Phidias in the ruins of the Parthenon. God's will, therefore, cannot be discerned in nature, but only in revelation, and revelation is the miraculous interruption of the laws of nature by the direct agency of God. The life and works of Jesus

were accordingly wholly independent of the previous history of the human race, except in Judea. His character was wholly supernatural. While naturalism shows us in Jesus only the Son of Man, supernaturalism makes known to us only the Son of God; and while it maintains the doctrine of two natures in Christ, it virtually sinks the human nature in the Divine, and is ignorant of all his tender human virtues.

The opposition between naturalism and supernaturalism which we have described is not so much a conflict between two systems of opinion as between two tendencies of thought. As all thinkers have been said to be born either Platonists or Aristotelians, so also most men are born either naturalists or supernaturalists. One man has a tendency to reduce all things under law, another to explain events as flowing from free will, from love, from spiritual energy. Few men would accept either system, in its naked and exclusive form, but in each mind there is a secret tendency toward the one or the other. Accordingly, the conflict reappears continually in the history of opinions. The theogonies of ancient Asia were founded on the principle of emanation; those of Europe on that of evolution. The gods of Asia, Brahma and Vishnoo, Ormuzd and Ahriman, were emanations from the absolute. The gods of Greece, Zeus, Ares, Aphrodite, Persephone, were evolved from human attributes, were developments of human nature. Supernaturalism, vindicating the personality and freedom of the Deity from pantheistic tendencies, has appeared from time to time in Judaism and Mohammedanism, in the systems of Augustine and of Calvin. In all these systems God is viewed as a mighty will, above the course of nature. Naturalism, vindicating the wisdom and justice of the Deity from Antinomian tendencies, has appeared in the philosophies of Greece, in the scholasticism of the Middle Ages, and in all the varieties of modern rationalism.

But now we must consider two other forms of opinion, quite prevalent among us, which are founded on an endeavour to reconcile these two exclusive systems. These we have called *supernatural rationalism* and *rational supernaturalism.* In the first, the contents of the

system is rationalism, but its basis and form supernaturalism; in the second, the reverse is the case.*

3. Supernatural Rationalism.

This system accepts the miraculous facts of the Gospels, and considers them as violations of the law of nature, the object of which was to establish religion on an authoritative basis. But the religion thus established is only the religion of reason, as taught by the wisest men of ancient and modern times. It is the republication, with authority, of the religion of nature. It teaches the unity and perfections of God, the moral duties of man, immortality, and retribution in a future life. All that is peculiar, original, and mysterious in Christianity, this system ignores. *Faith* it considers equivalent to the belief of propositions on grounds of evidence, and makes of it an act of the understanding. *Repentance* is not so much an inward change from selfishness to love, as an outward reformation of conduct. *Conversion* is either the accepting of a new creed, the union with a new sect or party, or the outward profession of religion. *Prayer* is an act by which, while addressing God, we create proper feelings and sentiments in our own mind, and so in reality answer our own supplications. *Forgiveness of sin* is an assurance by God that, when we change our conduct and become virtuous, we shall be happy. Such is supernatural rationalism, which is, indeed, not the creed of any sect or party, but is a tendency to be found more or less developed among many sects. Although it has its merits, among which especially is to be remembered its assertion of the rights of the individual reason and conscience in opposition to church authority, it is on the whole a narrow system, which confines the

* Naturalism and rationalism are to be distinguished from each other. They may often be united, but are not necessarily so, and are very different things. The following extract from Tzschirner asserts the distinction strongly. "Rationalism," says he, "is essentially different from naturalism. For naturalism rejects the idea of a supernatural revelation as folly and deception; rationalism, on the other hand, clings to it and maintains it. Naturalism denies the truth of the sacred history; rationalism accepts the facts of Christianity." (Naturalism may accept them too as *natural phenomena*.) "Naturalism treats the Bible as a human book; rationalism treats it as the record of a revelation, and only denies that it is to be unconditionally believed," &c., &c. — Tzschirner, *Memorabilien für das Studium des Predigers*, Band I. Seite 13. The principle of rationalism is to make the reason the ultimate judge of the truth or falsehood of any doctrine, whether of natural or revealed religion.

mind, and excludes many of the noblest convictions which exalt the soul of man.

Let us, then, turn to the consideration of the other system, which seeks to reconcile the truths of supernaturalism and naturalism. This we have called,

4. Rational Supernaturalism.

This system is rational, because it recognizes the rights of reason in their fullest extent. It asserts the duty of using the reason in examining the claims and determining the contents of revelation. Knowing that a man cannot believe what seems to him unreasonable, it does not seek to impose its own belief, by authority, but will wait, as God waits, till its truth commends itself to the inquirer's mind. It is rational, because it accepts nothing on grounds of revelation which is inconsistent with what it believes on other grounds. When the Scripture seems to assert what nature seems to deny, it does not shut its eyes to one class of facts that it may believe the other; but it waits humbly and modestly, till it can either see that one is false, or till the two can be reconciled. But this system is essentially a supernatural faith, for, while believing in nature, it also believes that there is a great deal more above nature, — that there are many things in heaven and earth not dreamt of in our philosophy. It believes the coming of Christ a supernatural event, the introduction into the world of a new power, before not present in human history. Christ's life is not a part of the great *nexus* of events, not an effect, but the commencement of a new and grand order, a spirit descending from above into human affairs to make them all new. The miracles of his life are supernatural, because having their source in this superhuman power; they are natural, because the natural outflow and expression of that power. They are not suspensions of the laws of nature, for then they would be *unnatural;* nor are they, like the phenomena of magic and animal magnetism, the expression of an abnormal and diseased state, for then they would be *preternatural.* But they are strictly *supernatural,* because the coming in of forces, having laws of their own, from a higher world. In that celestial world what are miracles to us may be as natural events as the growing of grass is here. The contents of Christianity, according to this system, are

also strictly supernatural, belonging to an order above that of this world. The object of Christianity was not, as rationalism declares, to teach with authority a system of religious and moral truth, but to communicate a new life to the race. As God flows out into outward nature as law, so he flows into the soul as love. This descent of love into the soul, mediated by Christ, is the new birth, or conversion. It does not come to us as the reward of any goodness or work of ours, but it is the gift of his inexplicable love; yet it is no irresistible force, but works in harmony with the laws of human freedom. This new life, thus strictly supernatural in its origin, natural in its operation, manifests itself by a living faith, a holy love, and believing prayer. *Faith*, in this system, is not the belief of propositions, but the realizing sense of spiritual things. *Prayer*, in this system, is not a mere self-magnetism, but an actual communion with God, who loves to give blessings in this intercourse which would not come by any operation of law.

According to this system, the Christian lives at once in two worlds, — in the world of time and in that of eternity. He has senses and faculties adapted to both. He draws his strength from one, and finds his work in the other. The one is the sphere of labor, duty, effort, morality, — the other is the sphere of joy, freedom, love, piety. He meets God in both worlds. In the world of nature he meets God as the power sustaining and filling all things, — "whose dwelling is the light of setting suns, and the round ocean, and the solid land." * In the world of spirit he meets God as the Father and the Friend, who loved him before the foundation of the world, and by whose grace he is saved. He goes to God in the outward world by obedience, God comes to him in the inward world by inspiration. Man takes the initiative in the world of duty. As he sows, so he reaps; he draws nigh to God, and *then* God draws nigh to him. God takes the initiative in the world of grace. Mysterious influences come unasked for to check the sinner and to support the saint; and "herein," we say, "is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to save us."

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* Wordsworth.

It will be seen that the last system is the one which we approve and love among those we have described. We hope, but are not sure, that our readers generally will agree with us in this preference. All liberal Christians reject the system of exclusive supernaturalism. But some among us lean strongly toward exclusive naturalism, and many, especially among our older theologians, hold views akin to those we have described as supernatural rationalism. At present, however, we have to do with naturalism, and therefore will proceed to give our reasons for thinking that system inadequate, and for accepting the supernatural view of God and Christ.

Admitting, as we do, that God reveals himself in the lives and thoughts of other wise and good men, it may be asked, Why should we wholly separate the revelation made through Jesus from these other revelations? Why not be satisfied with the assertion that Jesus was the ripest fruit of our common nature, — that he became what he was by a transcendent religious genius, — that he was superior to all other men in degree, but not in kind? Why not place him in the same class with Confucius, Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates?

Now it will not be denied that there is something in the Christian sentiment, be it habit or be it instinct, which shrinks from these classifications. No matter how much we admire Plato and Antoninus, we feel that they belong to a different order of greatness from that of Jesus. And the difference is just this. We revere in them human genius and human virtue ascending toward the skies; but in Jesus we worship God descending toward the earth. Jesus we are accustomed to regard as an act of God, not as an effort of nature. Humanity did not unfold itself into Jesus as its fairest flower, but that infinite soul of the world, elsewhere hiding himself behind his laws, here shows himself through them. The veil of the temple of nature is rent in twain, and in Jesus a new creative impulse of light and love enters the world. "Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo."

This unquestionably has been the view of the Church in all Christian centuries. This is the view which it has attempted to express in its doctrine of the Incarnation. The statement that Jesus was God can, when strictly examined, only mean this. It cannot mean that the

human soul of Jesus, any more than his human body, was God. As a human being, he had a human soul, and was a human person. As a human person, he was finite, limited, dependent. But this human soul was a receptacle for God, and was so filled and overflowed with God, that the finite limitations which existed there disappear in the Infinite. So that when we look elsewhere we see man, when we look at Jesus we see God.

Now this universal belief of the Christian Church is itself a strong argument for the truth of what lies under it. Does a faith like this spring out of the ground? The faith that Christ was the fulness of God is a great phenomenon in human history. How is it to be accounted for? It is an effect for which we must find an adequate cause.

Consider, moreover, the influence of this faith in Christ. It has been the strength of Christian life and Christian effort. Christians, looking to Jesus, have seen in him God's truth, love, and power manifested to redeem mankind; and this has given them power to do and to endure, to become heroes and martyrs in his cause. Would this strength have come from the belief that Jesus, Plato, Paul, and Socrates were fine specimens of natural greatness, and had a genius for truth and goodness? Let the naturalist explain the faith of the Church, and what it has accomplished. Of its theologies concerning Jesus, we think little; but under them all there has been this deep-lying faith, that his life was not merely a growth of nature, but an act of God.

The effect of the life of Christ upon the world also leads us to believe that he differed essentially from all wise and good men. We find in the sacred books of India a lofty spiritualism, akin to that which we find in the New Testament. In the words of Socrates we meet a practical wisdom similar to that expressed in the words of Jesus. The morality of Confucius, of Seneca, of Zoroaster, of Epictetus, are all akin to the morality of the Gospel. But why have not the words of these men passed into the mind and heart of the world? Why do the books of Plato and Seneca lie only on the tables of scholars, while the words of Jesus are repeated by the lips of childhood, are uttered by the bed of the dying, are remembered by the sailor in his stormy midnight-

watch, and remain the last comfort of him from whom all other comfort has fled? The doctrines of Confucius have never passed the boundaries of his nation; the words of Jesus, coming from among the despised Jews, pass the limits of race, institutions, customs, language, law, and form the harmonizing principle which unites in one general culture the most different tribes of men. These are not mere words, not mere thoughts; "they are spirit, and they are life." The life of Christ goes with them, the impulse given to humanity by him constitutes their power. To the most eloquent words we listen, and though thrilled for the moment by their beauty, we presently are our own selves again. But when words come, attended by a fulness of life, they fill the world with their music; they are sunshine in the home of sorrow, they are wreaths of love upon the tomb.

Moreover, the human soul has needs which remain unsatisfied except by a manifestation of God. A longing, often vague, but sometimes uttering itself in distinct words,* has made men look for some brighter manifestation of God than can be found in the grandeur of outward nature, or the intuitions of human reason.

They have said, — "We are God's children. Will not our Father one day speak to us? There are mysteries from which we cannot escape, questions which he himself has made us ask. Will he not one day give us their solution? We are involved in sin. Shall we ever overcome it, ever escape from it? Those we love best we are every day laying in the ground. Shall we ever see them again? In a few years we shall lie there too. Is that the end, or the beginning? We wish these questions answered, — not intellectually, but experimentally; answered by an experience of our Father's love, by a sense of his forgiving grace, by the consciousness that an eternal life is abiding in us." We believe that Jesus came to answer these questions; practically, to the heart,

* So Confucius announced a religious teacher to come from the West. So Zoroaster predicted the Sosioch, or Mediator, and hence the wide-spread expectation of a great king about to come, prevailing in the East, as Tacitus and Suetonius inform us. So, finally, Socrates hoped that the gods would send a messenger to give a plain account of himself and of our destiny.

not speculatively, to the understanding. The LAW was given by Moses. Divine *laws* were revealed also by Plato, Galileo, Kepler, Descartes, Bacon, Newton. But GRACE and TRUTH came by Jesus Christ, and by him alone.

Yet again. Our view of the character of Jesus is confirmed by what he says of himself. Let us try to imagine Socrates, or any other man, however wise and good, using such language about himself as Jesus used. Imagine, if you can, even Paul or John saying these things about themselves, which we have taken, at random almost, from the Gospels.

1. Jesus calls himself "*the only begotten Son of God.*"

"God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoso believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

2. He says he came from God.

"I seek not my own will, but the will of him that sent me." "I am come in my Father's name." "My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me." "He that sent me is true." "I know him, I am from him, and he sent me." "I go my way to him that sent me."

3. He speaks of his sinlessness and perfect union with God.

"Which of you convinceth me of sin?" "I and my Father are one." "I know God, and keep his saying." "The Father knoweth me, and I know the Father." "The Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that he himself doeth." "Therefore does my Father love me, because I lay down my life for my sheep." "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands."

4. He speaks of himself as having extraordinary authority and powers.

"The Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath." "The Son quickeneth whom he will." "The Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father." "The Father hath given to the Son to have life in himself." "I am the light of the world. He that believeth on me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." "I am the door; by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved." "The Son of Man has power

on earth to forgive sins." "All things are delivered unto me of my Father, and no man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father," &c. "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father in heaven." "Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord," &c. "All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth." "He breathed on them and said, 'Receive the Holy Ghost.' I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth on me shall never die." "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day."

Now it seems clear that no one could have spoken of himself in this way, who considered himself as not differing essentially from wise and good men. It argued in Jesus either a fanatical self-esteem, or a consciousness of divinity, to use such language as this. His whole life, teaching, character, influence on the world, make it impossible to believe him a fanatic, or an enthusiast. The conclusion is, therefore, inevitable, that he had this peculiar mission, this great work to do, — that he was not the Son of God merely by personal fidelity, but by Divine selection and endowment. If he was merely one who, by obedience to his instinct of duty, had purified his character and made for himself a spotless virtue, the whole class of texts we have quoted would become unintelligible, and he would have spoken of himself, too, in a very different manner, with terms and phrases suited to express the virtues of a self-formed character.

We return from this examination of the underlying principle of Mr. Furness's work, to the consideration of its details. Mr. Furness accepts the facts recorded in the Gospels as substantially true, but reserves the right of critically examining each, to see whether it involves a miracle or not. In this he adopts a method common to all interpreters. He considers some of the statements of the New Testament writers erroneous or fictitious. Herein he follows the course common to many distinguished interpreters of the liberal school. If he applies his principle more sweepingly than others, and rejects some facts which most of us would think it reasonable to retain, we have no reason to find fault with him, but, by a more careful exegesis, must endeavour to reëstablish their authority and value.

Mr. Furness says (page 197), — "That there may be a mixture of the fabulous in the history of Jesus, I do not deny, I admit to a certain extent. It would be strange were it not so. But still, that the story, substantially, in regard to all the principal facts, should be fictitious, is just as impossible as that we should be able to imagine a new creature."

The following events in the life of Jesus Mr. Furness so explains as to discharge the miraculous element, and change them into commonplace phenomena. The immaculate conception he considers a mistake, founded on some dreams of Mary (p. 20). Jesus was the Son of Mary and Joseph (p. 25). The Holy Ghost, descending like a dove, was an inward purpose of the soul of Jesus, accompanied with the outward fact of a dove flying by (p. 44). The temptations in the wilderness were reflections in his own mind upon the use he might make of his remarkable powers (p. 48). His prophecies proceeded from great sagacity and foresight, but he did not foresee all the great obstructions which would hinder the progress of the truth (p. 85). His cures were wrought partly by a special power of healing, and partly by the faith he inspired in those who came to be healed (p. 34). Practically, however, Mr. Furness seems to attribute the cures chiefly to the faith of the patients, and seems sometimes to assume a little too readily, that, addressed by Jesus in a tone of authority, the cure of the sufferers must have followed as a matter of course. Thus he says of the insane man (p. 71), of whom faith could hardly be predicated, that, being "personally addressed, and with an air of unearthly authority, ... no doubt from that moment he regained his self-possession completely." He supposes that the centurion's child had caught his father's faith, and that the expectation of seeing the wonder-worker would cure his palsy very naturally. "He must needs have got well." So of the woman who touched him. The touch cured her in a natural way. It was "no medical efficacy in his clothes, but the person's own faith, which wrought the cure." "The touch must have been to her like an electric stroke." (p. 91.) In short, she cured herself. Even in the case of Lazarus, whom Mr. Furness supposes to have been really dead, it was the faith of the dead man which enabled

him to be brought to life again (p. 199). So of the young persons whom he raised from death. We are not told of their having any faith in Jesus, but Mr. Furness says that their *youth* supplied the absence of it, for "between him and the young there was a living sympathy. They were in the same sphere." (p. 200.) And, believing fully in the resurrection of Jesus himself, he thinks that he woke to life again "by the native force of his mighty God-inspired being, prompted to this unprecedented act by the love he bore his disciples, and by his interest in the truth, with which his inmost life was identified. That reanimated his lifeless body." (p. 287.)

Now, if we were disposed to criticize these statements and explanations, we should perhaps dissent, more or less, from all of them. We have no doubt that Mr. Furness has struck a vein of truth, in supposing that miracles have their laws and conditions, but we think he overvalues his explanations. But these questions have been so often argued, and need for their discussion so much more minute and accurate a criticism than would be proper here, that we pass them by with these few words.

And now gladly do we return, after our necessary protest, to sit at the feet of our poet, and listen to the music of his strain, while in glowing words he sounds the praises of his great Master. Through the long summer afternoon, while the shadows of the trees are lengthening around us, we could listen well content to that earnest exposition of the loftiest theme on which the human mind can dwell. The love of Mr. Furness for the beautiful and true, in all domains of nature and art, fits him well for the high discussion. Dissenting from him in a great principle, and in details, we feel wiser and better for having heard him. His "History of Jesus" is not the final word on this matter, but it is fitly spoken, and spoken in season, and will awaken to a deeper thought multitudes of kindred minds. J. F. C.

Art. VII. — LITURGICAL AND EXTEMPORANEOUS WORSHIP.*

The Unitarian denomination has, from its origin, in this country, enjoyed the advantages of both modes of religious worship, the liturgical and the extemporaneous. Dr. Freeman, the earliest pastor of any church who avowed himself a Unitarian, had been educated as a minister of the Episcopal Church, and retained his preference for the liturgical method of worship, and continued to use the Book of Common Prayer after the change of his religious sentiments and those of his people, and the alterations in the service which that change of opinion rendered necessary. But the clergymen and churches which sympathized most nearly with him, and which successively avowed Unitarian sentiments, were of those who had been accustomed to the extemporaneous method, the method introduced by the Pilgrims, and all but universally in use in New England. This difference of forms in Unitarian worship produced no disagreement in sentiment; but, on the contrary, by gradually bringing each class of worshippers into familiarity with the mode practised by the other, taught them a proper estimate of forms, as important only so far as they were efficient in nourishing the sentiment of devotion. Thus gradually those prejudices which once alienated the Churchman and the Puritan, and led each to abhor his brother's mode of worship, gave way; and the ear accustomed to the prayer-book might often trace its rich devotional phraseology interwoven in the texture of the extemporaneous service; while, on the other hand, each successive edition of King's Chapel Liturgy gives evidence of renewed attempts to adapt more and more the fixed form to varying circumstances. Further indications of the same tendency are exhibited in the adoption by two societies in this city, and by one at St.

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* 1. *Book of Common Prayer, according to the Use of King's Chapel.* Boston. 1850.

2. *A Manual of Prayer for Public or Private Worship.* St. Louis, Mo. 1842.

3. *Service Book, for the Use of the Church of the Disciples.* Boston. 1844.

4. *Service Book for the Church of the Saviour.* 1846.

5. *The Christian Liturgy and Book of Common Prayer, &c., &c.* 1847.

Louis, of a mode compounded of the liturgical and the extemporaneous. We would now treat the subject, as far as possible, with impartiality, as one which Christians may properly discuss. Each of these methods has its peculiar advantages and disadvantages. In order to judge in what cases each is preferable, let us reflect for a moment on the distinction between common and proper or occasional prayer.

Common prayer applies to those things which are common to all men; proper prayer to those which are peculiar to each individual. Common prayer is for all times; proper prayer is for special emergencies. Common prayer is calm, thoughtful, comprehensive; proper prayer is ardent, specific, personal. Common prayer is enduring, special prayer is temporary. Common prayer may therefore fitly hold a fixed form, while special prayer varies its utterance with the occasion. To Christians who assemble, on every returning Sabbath, for united worship, a form may furnish an appropriate vehicle for their common devotions; but for missionary purposes, and to rouse the impenitent and thoughtless, it is less adapted. We have seen an engraving representing the scene of "The First Prayer in Congress." When we reflect that Bishop White, who officiated on that occasion, would not probably have allowed himself to use any prayer but those in the volume which is open before him, we cannot but feel how much less touching such must have been, than one that the occasion would have called forth from a heart as warm and true as his, if left to its own utterances. On the other hand, any one who has observed the irksome effort of some painful or hesitating speaker in extemporaneous prayer, in common Sunday worship, so to go over the familiar topics as to give them apparent variety, and not to repeat himself, while half his mind is in active exercise to select his language, and only the other half is at liberty to contemplate his theme, will be disposed to ask, Where is the expediency of requiring variety of expression for uniformity of topics, and, when all the conditions of teacher, people, and theme remain the same, of attempting to give variety to the language in which the petition is laid before the throne?

But it is not our intention to discuss so wide a subject

as the comparative merits of the two methods of public religious worship, satisfied as we are that each possesses advantages of its own. But as our topic is the new edition of the "Book of Common Prayer, according to the Use of King's Chapel, Boston," we will briefly name one or two considerations, which appear to us to show the peculiar appropriateness of such a book, at this time, to the religious condition of our country, while we leave unquestioned the advantages of the prevailing method of worship. If we seem to speak in the character of an advocate, the same pages are free to others.

It is a book, then, which may be used by Christians of every name, without jarring harshly on the feelings of any. As says the preface,—

"The Trinitarian, the Unitarian, the Calvinist, the Arminian, will read nothing in it which can give him any reasonable umbrage. God is the sole object of worship in these prayers; and as no man can come to God but by the one Mediator, Jesus Christ, every petition is here offered in his name, in obedience to his positive command." — p. vi.

It omits allusions to disputed doctrines. Thus, what is retained is of the character best suited to nourish devotion, and it is left to those who use the book to supply its omissions, if they think necessary, from other sources.

In a country so wide as ours, so thinly peopled, where little clusters of inhabitants often find themselves separated from other neighbourhoods by distances which preclude resorting to any place of worship, much less such a one as each would prefer, how useful it would be, if a book of religious worship could be adopted, that would enable any respectable individual to conduct the common prayers of such a circle, with propriety and solemnity, preserving also those associations with the services of their early days and former homes, which would cling around the prayer-book to which they had been accustomed.

These associations which cluster round a book of common prayer are of themselves a strong argument in its favor. As the religious affections of the traveller glow warmer when he treads the plains of Galilee and the hills of Jerusalem, kindled by the associations of the place, — as the picture or the relic of a departed friend

appeals in like manner to the heart, — so the prayer-book of our childhood speaks to our religious sensibilities. "The child reads the same page which his parents once read, and his devotions are warmed and hallowed by his remembrance of the affection and the faith of those who may have been called from the worship of an earthly temple to a holier worship in heaven." (Preface, p. ix.) Of course we would not press this argument to the disparagement of the Bible, though we add to it another object of affectionate remembrances. Can religion afford to dispense with an aid so efficacious as this? Can those of the risen generation, who see the young passing off in crowds to the tempting regions of the West, be insensible to the value of such a safeguard to the impressions and instructions of the past?

The use of forms of prayer is traced back to the times of the Apostles, by Burnet, the historian of the Reformation, who tells us, — "In the primitive Church, when the extraordinary gifts ceased, the bishops of the several churches put their offices and prayers into such a method as was nearest to what they had heard and remembered from the Apostles." There are not lacking, however, the best authorities to prove that the earliest Christian worship was extemporaneous. When the Reformation was introduced into England, there were in use, in different parts of the kingdom, various liturgies, more or less differing from one another, and designated by the name of the cathedral or county in which they were received. These were distinguished from each other as the "Use" of Sarum, of York, &c. In the year 1547, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley, with eleven other eminent divines, were commissioned to compile a uniform service-book, for the use of the whole kingdom. This work they fulfilled, and compiled the "Book of Common Prayer," chiefly on the basis of the "Use of Sarum," or Salisbury Cathedral, the form most generally employed at that time.

On the accession of Queen Mary, the Roman Catholic religion was reëstablished, the Book of Common Prayer suppressed, and Cranmer and Ridley, its authors, were burned at the stake.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1559, the

Book of Common Prayer was restored, and confirmed by Parliament. Slight amendments were made in it at that time, and afterwards in the reigns of James the First and Charles the Second. The Epistles and Gospels were taken out of the last translation of the Bible, (the present received version,) but the Psalms were retained in the "old translation." The whole Liturgy was brought to the state in which it now stands in the English Church, and in which it stood in the American Episcopal churches, including that of King's Chapel, Boston, at the time of our national Revolution.

For fifty years after the first settlement of the Colony of Massachusetts, our fathers had successfully resisted the introduction of Episcopal worship. But on the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, the royal will was announced in terms no longer to be evaded, and a toleration of Episcopal worship was conceded, with extreme reluctance. Still, it was not till 1686 that the first Episcopal church in New England was founded, under the name of "King's Chapel." The first edifice was small and of wood; but in 1749 it was replaced with a granite edifice, now standing, after the lapse of a century, with no marks of dilapidation or decay.

In the period immediately preceding the American Revolution, the church of King's Chapel was in a state of great prosperity. It was the government church. Thither resorted the governor of the Province, the admiral of the naval forces on this station, and, in general, all those connected with the government, both officially and by social intercourse. The Revolution effected an immediate change. In March, 1776, the British troops evacuated Boston, and Dr. Caner, the clergyman of King's Chapel, went with them. The congregation was dispersed, and the church was closed. It was not reopened, for Episcopal worship, till the end of the war, when those of the proprietors who had remained in the country took measures to that effect. On the 21st of April, 1783, the Rev. James Freeman was chosen its pastor, and regular services were resumed.

The political changes which had taken place rendered necessary some alterations in the prayer-book. Those parts of it which recognized the royal government could of course no longer be used.

"But much greater alterations were suggested by Mr. Freeman, whose opinions, in the course of a year or two, underwent some important changes, and who then found that some parts of the Liturgy were so inconsistent with the faith which he derived from the Scriptures, that he resolved no longer to read such portions, and to propose to his society an amended form of prayer for public use at the Chapel."

"Mr. Freeman's suggestions were considered by his people. He 'preached a series of doctrinal sermons to them, and, by the aid and influence of the word of God, moved them to respond to his sentiments.' The result was, that on the 19th of June, 1785, the proprietors voted, 'that the Common Prayer, as it now stands amended, be adopted by this church, as the form of prayer to be used in future by this church and congregation.'"*

The changes made in the Liturgy by Dr. Freeman were for the most part of such portions as involved the doctrine of the Trinity. In great part, the omissions were of passages not taken from the Bible, while Scriptural sentences were introduced in their places. The Athanasian and Nicene Creeds were omitted, and those passages in the Litany, collects, and prayers, which contained direct addresses to any other being than God, the Father, were omitted or altered. With what judgment and discretion this was done may be seen by examining the old and the new form of the Litany, which we present below, in parallel columns. We have not thought it necessary to print the responses.

THE LITANY, OR GENERAL SUPPLICATION,

According to the Use of the Episcopal Church.	*According to the Use of King's Chapel.*
O God, the Father of heaven, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners.	O God, our Heavenly Father, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners.
O God, the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners.	O God, who by thy Son hast redeemed the world, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners.
O God, the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, have mercy upon us, &c.	O God, who by thy holy Spirit dost govern, direct, and sanctify the hearts of thy faithful servants, have mercy, &c.

* Greenwood's History of King's Chapel.

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and one God, have mercy, &c.	(*Omitted.*)
Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers, neither take thou vengeance of our sins: spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed by thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever.	Remember not, Lord, our offences, neither take thou vengeance of our sins: spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed by the most precious blood of thy Son, and be not angry with us for ever.
From all evil and mischief, from sin; from the crafts and assaults of the devil; from thy wrath and from everlasting damnation;	From all evil and mischief, from sin; from the assaults of temptation; from thy wrath and from everlasting destruction;
People. Good Lord, deliver us.	*People.* Good Lord, deliver us.

The rest of the Litany is retained, with but little alteration; but the sentence beginning, "By the mystery of thy holy incarnation," and the next, are omitted. These, on the whole, are the most serious and noticeable of all the alterations, in the usual Sunday service, introduced by Mr. Freeman. We think our readers will admit that they were made with discretion.

It is not to be denied that our fathers, the Puritans, entertained strong objections to the use of a form of prayer. It will appear, however, to the attentive reader of their history, that this feeling owed its intensity to the very cause of whose strength we have spoken above. It was associated in their minds with the persecuting hierarchy and government of England. In principle, many of the early Reformers approved of the use of a form of prayer;* in proof of which the authority of Calvin is sufficient, who says, "Publicam formulam precum et rituum Ecclesiasticorum valde probo, ut certa illa extet, a quâ ne pastoribus discedere, in functione suâ, liceat." † Neither did the Puritans disapprove of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, as a whole; they

* "They did not object against prescribed forms of prayer, provided a latitude was indulged the minister to alter or vary some expressions, and to make use of a prayer of his own conception before and after sermon." Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. chap. 8.

† Quoted in Tayler's "Retrospect of the Religious Life of England," page 487.

took exception to parts thereof, and defined clearly the modifications they desired. Some of these causes of exception have disappeared, with the lapse of time and change of circumstances; some, we may safely admit, as we view them in the light of the present day, were made of undue importance; and the remainder, all, we believe, without exception, have been removed in this amended liturgy. Neal tells us, — "When the king was in progress to London, April, 1603, the Puritans presented their 'millenary petition,' so called because it was said to be subscribed by a thousand hands." * It asked relief in the following particulars, relating to the Church service: — "That the cross in baptism, the interrogatories to infants, baptism by women, and confirmation, may be taken away, that the cope and surplice may not be urged, that the ring in marriage may be dispensed with, that the service may be abridged." They afterwards added a complaint of the old translation of the Scriptures being retained in the prayer-book, and of the use of organs in churches.

We have space to comment on a few only of these petitions and complaints. It may puzzle some of our readers to imagine what is meant by "interrogatories to infants," and surprise them quite as much to learn that the practice of interrogating the infant, when brought for baptism, as to his belief in the creed, and his wish to be baptized, not only was, but is, in use in the English Church, — nay, more, continues in use in the Episcopal Church in this country to the present day. It is true, the questions are said, in the Rubric, to be addressed to the sponsors; but that they are really addressed to the child is evident from the closing ones, — "Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?" with the answer, "That is my desire"; and the next, "Wilt thou then obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life?" Answer, "I will, by God's help." We need hardly say this is amended in the King's Chapel Liturgy.

"Baptism by women" seems to have been a great grief to our fathers. It probably sprung from the peculiar notions respecting the efficacy of that rite for regen-

* History of the Puritans, Vol. II. chap. 1.

eration, which are, at this very time, distracting the Church of England, and according to which the rite was equally efficacious, however performed, whether in the sick-room, and by ignorant menials, or with all the ceremonies of the Church, and by its dignified clergy. We are not aware that this practice ever prevailed in this country.

"Confirmation" is a proper sequel to "interrogatories to infants in baptism." When these are dispensed with, the other may be omitted. There was another objection our fathers had to confirmation, in the superstitious notions attached to the "laying on of hands." Yet confirmation is a pleasing and suggestive service, and might, it appears to us, be restored, somewhat modified, with good effect. The service is not in the Liturgy of King's Chapel.

"The use of organs in public worship." We can hardly realize the hostility that our fathers entertained to this practice; but it was not slight nor transient. Common as organs are now, in churches of every denomination, not excepting those which cherish the most indiscriminating adherence to the Puritan model, it will hardly be believed that the date of the introduction of the first organ into Congregational worship was so recent as 1790, when the society of Brattle Street procured one. The records of that church, under date of July 24, 1713, show that a legacy of the Rev. W. Brattle, "of a pair of organs," — meaning no more than what we now-a-days call an organ, — was respectfully declined, on the ground "that they did not think it proper to use the same in the public worship of God."*

The use of the old translation of the Psalms is the remaining point of exception. It continues to this day in the Church of England and the American Episcopal Church. The version is that of Coverdale, 1535. How early this was, in the history of the English language, it will aid us to appreciate, if we remember that it was anterior to all the great names of English literature, with

* Rev. J. G. Palfrey's "Sermon, with Notes Historical and Biographical," 1825. Another fact, derived from the same authority, will show the length to which the early settlers carried their dislike of the Church of England and its practices. "The reading of the Scriptures and *the use of the Lord's prayer* were banished from the public services, because they were embraced in the prelatical forms."

the exception of Chaucer. It is, therefore, not surprising that the language of the Psalms, in this version, should be sometimes obscure, and sometimes offensive to modern taste. Neither is it wonderful that, at that early day of philological learning, mistakes in rendering the meaning should have sometimes taken place, which subsequent inquiries have corrected. The version of our Bible is well known to be that of King James, published in 1611, three quarters of a century after Coverdale's, and after numerous intervening attempts, each of which had doubtless done something towards supplying the deficiencies of the first.

After weighing these facts, the wonder is, not that the Bible version should be on the whole superior to that of the prayer-book, but that the latter should so well sustain a comparison with it. Indeed, in some places it may challenge superiority; and as we see it in our Liturgy, amended freely, where defective, from the Bible readings and other trustworthy sources, we own that we prefer it.

The fact is, that both these versions are very defective. Passages imperfectly rendered are so numerous, that great injustice is done to the compositions themselves, — injustice under which, we firmly believe, no poetry but that of the Bible could have retained its hold on our taste and feelings. It is a remarkable fact, that while scholars are never weary, and the public never satisfied, with attempts to elucidate the text and improve the versions of the profane poets, there should be such a general acquiescence in the very imperfect state, in these respects, of our sacred books. What, for instance, can be the meaning of this sentence, which is read in the Episcopal Church every time the morning prayer for the eleventh day of the month comes round? Psalm lviii. 8, "Or ever your pots be made hot with thorns, so let indignation vex him, even as a thing that is raw." Of this verse the Bible version is as follows: — "Before your pots can feel the thorns, he shall take them away as with a whirlwind, both living, and in his wrath." Dr. Noyes, in his excellent version of the Psalms, informs us that the allusion is to the culinary operations of the people in the open air. He translates it, "Before your pots feel the heat of the thorns, whether fresh or burning, may they

be blown away." It is a proverb, intended to represent the defeat of the plans of the wicked before they can be consummated. Again, in Psalm lxviii. 30, the prayer-book version reads, "When the company of the spearmen and multitude of the mighty are scattered abroad among the beasts of the people," &c. The Bible version is, "Rebuke the company of spearmen, the multitude of the bulls, with the calves of the people," &c. Dr. Noyes renders the first clause, "Rebuke the wild beast of the reeds," which "wild beast of the reeds" he supposes to be the crocodile, the emblem of Egypt, an allusion worthy of a poet; while the "bulls and the calves" may denote powerful nations and those of inferior strength, or commanders and their soldiers.

The theme of the 73d Psalm is the "prosperity of the wicked." "They are in no distress, but are firm and strong," &c. "And this is the cause that they are so lifted up with pride, and filled with cruelty." Then the Psalmist adds, in the prayer-book version, "Therefore fall the people unto them, and thereout suck they no small advantage." The Bible version gives it, "Therefore his people return hither, and waters of a full cup are wrung out to them." Dr. Noyes's version is, "Therefore his people walk in their ways, and there drink from full fountains."

These specimens will show that our fathers did not complain of the prayer-book version without cause, and that the Bible version, if substituted, would hardly suffice to remove every defect. The course which has been pursued in the Chapel Liturgy is to retain the old version as the basis, amending it from the Bible version, and both, if need be, by the aid of modern scholarship. The Psalter here given professes to be but a selection from the Psalms, and the liberty has been freely exercised of omitting whole psalms and parts of psalms which were judged less appropriate to Christian worship. Others, which are selected as proper psalms for special occasions, such as Christmas and Easter, have been printed with the services for those days, and not in the body of the psalms. Thus, the whole bulk of the Psalter has been reduced about one third, and the service proportionately abridged.

This seems to be, upon the whole, the best way of

dealing with a difficulty which has always been felt, in using these divine poems, in public worship. It was felt, as Bishop Burnet tells us, when the first edition of the English Liturgy came out, in 1549. It may be traced in the comments of defenders and critics of that Liturgy ever since. It will be curious, and we hope interesting to our readers, to examine some of the modern service-books, whose titles we have given at the head of this article, and see how they have dealt with this department.

It is a question that meets us at the threshold, in attempting the adaptation of these Jewish poems to Christian worship, how far those portions which relate to Jewish history should be retained. There are those who, conceiving every word and sentence to be divinely inspired, would say, "Retain the whole, however obscure or inappropriate any part may seem to be"; but our readers are not of that class. There are others who would except to every thing of a local and temporary character, as having nothing to do with us. "What concern have we," they say, "with David's victories or Solomon's wife, with the city of Jerusalem or the waters of Babylon?" It would take too much time and space to discuss this question here, but one thing may be urged in a few words. Jewish antiquities are Christian antiquities, and whatever makes us more familiar with the character and fortunes of the Jewish race, before the times of our Saviour, makes us more familiar with the course of events that led to him. His mind was formed, so far as it was formed by human influences, by the condition of things around him, which was the result of the long chain of events from Abraham downwards; and these are the subject of the allusions to which we refer. They are, therefore, surely not unworthy of the contemplation of Christians, nor unsuited to supply aliment to their devotions.

The opposite plan deprives the Psalms of the element of *personality*, and thereby robs them of that which gives them much of their attractiveness and poetry. They become mere abstract expressions of thoughts and emotions, with the thinking and the feeling individual withdrawn from sight. The proper medium is, no doubt, the object to be aimed at. Let us see how far it has been attained in the volumes before us.

There are four service-books, whose titles we have given at the head of this article. They are those in use by the Church of the Saviour (Mr. Waterston's), the Church of the Disciples (Mr. Clarke's), Mr. Eliot's society at St. Louis, and the Liturgy of Mr. Sears, prepared by that gentleman as an attempt "to erect a broad platform of religious opinion, on which Christians may stand in amity," &c. For facility of reference we shall call them by the names of the gentlemen who use, and who, we presume, compiled them.

Mr. Clarke, in his arrangement of the Psalms, has pursued nearly the plan of the King's Chapel Liturgy, but with greater abridgment and omission. He and Mr. Waterston have made the Bible version the basis, Mr. Sears retaining the prayer-book version. Mr. Eliot omits the Psalms altogether.

Mr. Waterston and Mr. Sears have taken the liberty of blending the Psalms with one another, and cutting them up into portions of desired lengths, to which they give the name of "Selections." This is a mode of treating the works of a poet, which, we presume, was never practised in the case of any other bard, ancient or modern. Whatever the share of inspiration that may be considered to have fallen to the lot of the bard, he is usually thought competent to decide, without appeal, as to what portion of his strains shall stand by itself, as one production, whether struck off at one impulse, or elaborated at frequent sittings. No critic, that we are aware of, has ever presumed to dictate to Horace that two or more of his shorter Odes might well be amalgamated into one, nor ventured to cut out the dull part of two of Virgil's Eclogues, and make one brilliant one of the remnants. But King David is, not in this respect only, the most ill-used of poets. He seems to have been a victim from the days of Sternhold and Hopkins until now.

And why is this? It is not because men do not appreciate his poetic excellences. On the contrary, no poet has ever called forth higher eulogies from all who have hearts to feel and taste to appreciate. Why is it, then, that such violent and unscrupulous hands have been laid upon his works? Principally, we believe, on account of the bad translations of them. There are

abundant passages in the Psalms, so clear in their meaning, so connected in themselves, that no translation can disguise them. Yet, of another large portion, is it not true that they are viewed by many of those who habitually read them as mere strings of pious apothegms, without connection or purpose? In this light our two compilers, at least, seem to have regarded them. Let us take the 29th Psalm as a specimen. We will borrow the commentary upon it from an "Essay on the Literary Attractions of the Bible," by Rev. James Hamilton, London.*

"There is no phenomenon in nature so awful as a thunder-storm, and almost every poet, from Homer and Virgil to Dante and Milton, has described it. In the Bible, too, we have, in the 29th Psalm, a description of a thunder-storm, which, rising from the Mediterranean, and travelling by Lebanon and along the inland mountains, reaches Jerusalem, and sends the people into the temple porticos for refuge. And besides those touches of terror, in which the geographical progress of the tornado is described, it derives a sacred vitality from the presence of Jehovah in each successive peal. 'The voice of the Lord is on the sea, the God of glory thundereth; the Lord is on the mighty sea. The voice of the Lord is powerful, the voice of the Lord is full of majesty. The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars, yea, the Lord breaketh the cedars of Lebanon. The voice of the Lord divideth the flames of fire [lightnings]; the voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness; yea, the Lord shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh. In his temple doth every one speak of his glory. The Lord sitteth upon the water-flood; [and now the sun shines out again;] the Lord will give his people the blessing of peace.'"

Now let us see how our compilers have dealt with this psalm. Mr. Clarke omits all those verses which describe the origin and progress of the storm, except one, and in that one the allusion to the Mediterranean is lost by a faulty translation, "is upon many waters," — rendered in the above extract "mighty sea"; in King's Chapel prayer-book, "thundereth over the great waters." Mr. Clarke omits the verses which trace the progress of the storm over Lebanon and the wilderness at its base, the out-flashing lightning and the breaking of the cedars, the awestruck group in the temple, and the water-flood, caused by the torrents, that, rushing from the hills, fill the

* Published as a tract by the American Tract Society, 1850.

ravines around the holy city. In fact, he retains only those which convey an indefinite impression of power and majesty, but suggest no particular manifestation of those qualities. Mr. Waterston treats it in the same manner.

The treatment of the 42d Psalm will also show the effect of the expunging and reconstructing process. Of this psalm Dr. Noyes says, — "For beauty of imagery, depth and naturalness of religious feeling, and the very striking manner in which the voice of religion in the poet's inmost soul is heard in the refrains, stilling the tempest of anxiety and grief, this psalm is so admirable, that it probably has no superior in any language." It is the utterance of the feelings of a pious worshipper of the only true God, when, in exile and among the enemies of his religion, he pours out his regrets for the privileges of religious worship, from which he is debarred. It must be remembered that the Jews attached an importance to the *place* of worship, — "to pay their vows in Jerusalem," — almost beyond the conception of Christians at the present day.

Let us conceive of a well-nurtured youth, from some New England village, an adventurer in California, and, sick of the ribaldry and license of the present scene and companions, perhaps on some unnoticed and unhonored Sunday, in the solitude of his tent, giving utterance to his feelings in words like these: —

"As the hart panteth for the water-brooks, so longeth my soul for thee, O God!

"My soul is athirst for God; yea, even for the living God. When shall I come and appear before God [in his sanctuary]?

"My tears have been my food day and night, while they continually say unto me, Where is now thy God?

"When I remember these things, I pour out my soul in grief; how I once walked with the multitude to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with the multitude that kept holyday.

"Why art thou so full of heaviness, O my soul? and why art thou so disquieted within me?

"Put thy trust in God, for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his countenance.

"Once the Lord granted his loving-kindness in the daytime; and in the night-season did I sing unto him, and made my prayer unto the God of my life.

"Now I say unto the God of my strength, Why hast thou forgotten me? why go I thus heavily, while the enemy oppresseth me?

"Why art thou so cast down, O my soul, and why art thou so disquieted within me? O, put thy trust in God, for I will yet thank him, who is the help of my countenance, and my God." — *King's Chapel Liturgy*, p. 318.

Let us see how this psalm is treated in the books before us. In Mr. Waterston's (Selection 28), the third and fourth verses, which explain the cause of the poet's sadness, are omitted, and we are left to imagine such cause as we please. Several other verses are omitted, and, to make out the suitable length for a "Selection," it is pieced out with a portion of the 46th Psalm, the tenor of which may be judged of by the title which Noyes gives it, — "Thanksgiving for victory over enemies, and trust in God as a national refuge and defence." Mr. Clarke treats the psalm in the same manner, except that he prints it by itself, and does not amalgamate it with any other. Mr. Sears (Day VIII., Evening), seeing no beauty in the allusion to the hart panting for the water-brooks, leaves out that verse, and begins with the second. He leaves out the third and fourth, and then brings in the refrain, "Why art thou so full of heaviness, O my soul," &c.; and no sooner has he finished this, than, omitting the intervening strophe, he gives it again, so that the fifth and sixth verses are a repetition of the third and fourth.

Of the 104th Psalm, the author of the "Pleasures of Hope" says, — "The impression of that exquisite ode dilates the heart with a pleasure too instinctive and simple to be described." Mr. Clarke gives the whole of it. In the third verse there are two errors of grammar, which he has made by changing the pronoun "his" to "thy." Mr. Waterston does nearly the same, but avoids the grammatical error. Both retain a mistranslation of the fourth verse, which is corrected in the King's Chapel Liturgy.

Mr. Sears seems not to have esteemed this "exquisite ode" so highly as Mr. Campbell. He gives but eight verses of the thirty-five of which it is composed, and has not been so careful in his excisions as to avoid ugly chasms. For instance, in the fourth verse he tells us, "He maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming

fire"; and in the next we read, "At thy rebuke they flee; at the voice of thy thunder they are afraid." This seems strange to be said of angels, but the next verse and the following do not clear up the difficulty. "They go up as high as the hills, and down to the valleys beneath. Thou hast set them their bounds that they shall not pass, neither turn again to cover the earth." All which the Psalmist applied to the waters, not to the angels. But Mr. Sears has left out the verses which show the change of subject.

The 50th Psalm is ascribed to Asaph. "It is enough," says Dr. Noyes, "to place him in the number of poets of the very first order." "The author was," says Eichhorn, "one of those ancient wise men who felt the insufficiency of external religious usages, and urged the necessity of cultivating virtue and purity of mind." It commences with a "sublime theophany," in which Jehovah is announced as speaking from Zion, his chosen seat, while heaven and earth are called to witness, and the host of worshippers is addressed: —

"The Lord, even the most mighty God, hath spoken, and called the world, from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof.

"'Gather my servants together unto me, those who have made a covenant with me with sacrifice.'

"And the heavens shall declare his righteousness, for God is judge himself."

The worthlessness of mere sacrifices is then declared: —

"I will take no bullock out of thine house, nor he-goat out of thy fold; for all the beasts of the forest are mine, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills."

Reproof is then dealt out to the moral offender, who hopes to hide his guilt under a parade of religious observances: —

"Unto the ungodly saith God, 'Why dost thou preach my laws, and take my covenant in thy mouth, whereas thou hatest instruction, and hast cast my words behind thee?'"

Then follows the conclusion: —

"Whoso offereth me thanks and praise, he honoreth me; and to him who ordereth his conversation right will I show the salvation of God."

This psalm, so grand in its conception, so poetic in its composition, so elevated in its philosophy, not only in advance of the Jewish mind of old time, but adequate to the Christian mind of our day, is cut down one half by Mr. Clarke, left out altogether by Mr. Waterston, and reduced to three verses by Mr. Sears, which are used as an introduction to the next psalm, a penitential one of David, supposed to refer to the matter of Uriah.

One more specimen, and we have done. From the 19th Psalm, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork," Mr. Sears omits all the portion relating to the wonders of the heavens, and begins his extract with the seventh verse, "The law of the Lord is an undefiled law," &c. He omits the verse which contains the petition, "O, cleanse thou me from my secret faults," but gives the next, "Keep thy servant also from presumptuous sins," &c. Surely no sin can be more "presumptuous" than thus to play strip and waste with compositions, which for thirty centuries have been held divine by all believing minds, and whose inspiration even infidels admit.

These instances are, perhaps, enough to show how perilous it is to meddle with other men's compositions, in hopes of mending them, when it is altogether uncertain whether we have entered into the design of the author, or partake of his spirit. It strikes us as strange, that men of piety, taste, and intelligence should have allowed themselves to recompose, as it were, these sacred poems. To expunge is, perhaps, allowable, yet manifestly even this process requires care and caution; but to wed together, in the same "Selection," the accents of grief and joy, triumph and despair, youth and age, epochs separated by centuries, without any sign or intimation of change of subject, is a course of proceeding which, if applied to modern poetry, would excite only ridicule and disgust.

In most departments of their service-books, all these gentlemen have freely used the materials, and followed the model, of the Book of Common Prayer; but in one, they have all, excepting Mr. Sears, stopped short. We refer to the "Christian Year," the arrangement by which each season, as it returns, is made to remind us of the event in the history of our faith which took place at

that season. It is evidently not of great importance that strict accuracy should be attained in fixing these dates. So long as Christians agree in regarding the close of the year as the season of our Saviour's birth, the recurrence of that season is as fitly adapted to revive the memory of that event, as if the date were historically certain. The Christian year begins with Advent, a season of four Sundays, which precede the great festival of Christ's nativity, or Christmas. The next occasion which comes round is the commencement of his ministry, as marked by the manifestation at his baptism and at the marriage feast. His crucifixion is fitly preceded by a season of meditation and retirement, which, in analogy with his fasting and temptation in the wilderness, extends to forty days, and is called Lent. The resurrection is celebrated under the name of Easter, and the giving of the Holy Spirit under that of Whitsunday.

The method of observance indicated by the Prayer-book is by regular portions of Scripture, called Lessons, assigned to each occasion. That portion of the Gospels which records the event forms one of these Lessons, and some passage from the Old Testament, either prophetic of or in some way analogous to the event, forms the other. Anthems and psalms also, of an appropriate character, are set apart to be read or sung on those days; and very naturally the sermon will take its coloring from the associations of the day.

This arrangement infuses method and order into our religious services, whether conducted with the aids of public worship, or by ourselves at home. Without some such system, the reading of the Bible is in danger of becoming unconnected and fortuitous, and comparatively unprofitable. Where good judgment is used in the selection, it will be so to some extent, and where good judgment is wanting, how much worse!

Our readers are now pretty well aware what the King's Chapel Prayer-book is. It is the "Book of Common Prayer" of the Church of England and of the American Episcopal Church, modified and adapted to Congregational Unitarian worship. Its identity is not lost, we contend, by these modifications, nor the association weakened which connects our book with the forms used by the ancient Church, and by generations of wise

and good men in the Roman Catholic and English Churches ever since. We cannot expect that persons attached to those doctrines which are here omitted will approve of this book, but to those whose sentiments on those subjects agree with ours, we cordially recommend it.

A large number of the Unitarian societies of England use the reformed Liturgy. We have no expectation, nor scarcely a wish, that any of our existing churches should adopt it. The same causes that have hitherto prevented its adoption by any other society in this city will probably still prevent it. The people of New England are unused to that mode of public worship, and its unaccustomedness would create a distaste, which would probably prevent the experiment from being successful, if it did not prevent its being made. But in our sister cities, New York, for instance, the case is different. There the people are accustomed to the use of the prayer-book in public worship, and habit would be on the side of a Liturgy, instead of against it. In that city, we think, a church which should use this amended prayer-book would find a large number of ready hearers and friends. We know of several individuals, and we doubt not there are many, who, while they cling to the prayer-book of their early associations with a fondness that forbids their exchanging it for the totally different method of extemporaneous service, would gladly be relieved of many objectionable matters connected with the Church Prayer-book as it is. To such, we are sure, the adoption of this "Book of Common Prayer, according to the Use of King's Chapel, Boston," would seem, as it did to our fathers, "an auspicious turning from the dominion of creeds and phrases of man's device, to the easy yoke and authority of simple Scripture." *

T. B.

* Greenwood's History.

Art. VIII. — ARCHITECTS AND ARCHITECTURE.*

To erect a structure that shall combine "commodity, firmness, and delight," as Vitruvius hath it, — to make it serviceable, and at the same time expressive of its purpose, — is no easy task. Not impossible, we know, from the proofs that it has been done; not easy, we judge, from their rarity.

This scarcity of fine buildings among us has been attributed to various causes. The public say it is owing to the want of architects who are capable of producing them; the architects say that it is owing to the want of a cultivated public taste to appreciate a good building when it is built. Who shall decide? To our minds the answer is this. The public, it is true, are not capable of appreciating a fine building. But how should they be, when they have never seen any, or at least so few as not to give them an opportunity of forming their taste. Therefore it is plain that the initiative lies with the members of the architectural profession. Let them render themselves able to produce fine buildings, and a public taste will soon grow up to appreciate them.

The next inquiry which presents itself is, — Are the architects now thus competent? And the answer, we fear, must too generally be in the negative. Our architects, with a few honorable exceptions, may be divided into two classes. The one class consists of men, originally carpenters or masons, who have risen above their fellows, and who, sharing in the love of distinction common to humanity, prefer the name of architect to that of builder, which properly belongs to them. Should they confine themselves to executing the designs of others, they would succeed very well; for the practical part of construction they generally understand. But of that which distinguishes architecture from building, and gives it a claim to rank as one of the fine arts, they have but a dim and uncertain idea.

The second class of architects consists of those enter-

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* 1. *Hints on Public Architecture.* By Robert Dale Owen. Published by order of the Smithsonian Institute.

2. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture.* By John Ruskin. New York: G. P. Putnam.

prising young men, who, with a happy audacity, consider themselves competent to perform any thing they may undertake, without the disagreeable formality of previous study. This class we know is a large one, and there is nothing wonderful in some of its members finding their way into this profession as well as others, except that it is more profitable to make quack pills than quack designs. The public, wisely enough, of two evils choose the least, and employ the "practical" architect, who knows little, in preference to the "theoretical" one, who knows nothing. While American architects consist for the most part of these sorts of men, is it wonderful that American architecture should be in such a languishing state?

In England, and on the Continent, architecture occupies its rightful position, as the chief and most important of the arts of design. The architect is prepared for the exercise of his profession by a long course of study, tested by strict examinations in mathematics, the physical sciences, and those generally relating to construction. The talents and energies of the student are called forth by the spirit of emulation produced by contests for medals and academic honors. Governments themselves contribute to the encouragement of successful merit, by bestowing thereon their patronage and protection, by conferring civil orders and decorations, and by endowing academies and professorships, which enable the man of science to devote his leisure to the cultivation and advancement of his art.

Such a thorough education as this we know little of in this country. Nor do we conceive it necessary that our architects should go through a precisely similar course. Something less theoretical would be more in accordance with our American ways. What Rousseau says of love applies equally well to this: — "Il faut commencer par pratiquer ce qu'on veut apprendre." No matter how the thing is accomplished, provided the result is the same. The only class among us who pretend to this thorough education are our civil engineers, and to this cause alone is it owing that the finest specimens of architecture among us have been built by civil engineers. And so it will be until the architect shall educate himself properly, — until he shall aspire to know all that the civil

engineer deems necessary, and also that which makes architecture a fine art, that which relates to the proportions and decorations of his buildings. Even then he will not be a great architect, unless he has been gifted by God with the eye and feeling of an artist.

And now a few words on the mutual relations between architects and their employers, the public. Let us suppose that an architect, not one of the quack sort, but a really competent man, receives an order from somebody to design a building. From his experience of what any building ought to be to fulfil certain requisites, he makes his plans, which we will suppose satisfy his employer. He next proceeds to design the exterior of his edifice. He first rudely blocks out his masses, and gives to the different parts of his intended building their just and proper proportions, without which it is vain to expect beauty. He comes next to the ornamental parts. He carefully studies his mouldings and other decorative appendages, giving them all a similarity of chronology and style, and not mixing up the architecture of different ages and nations. He is also obliged to vary them in size, shape, and projection, according to the different places they will occupy on the building, — far from or near to the eye; in a strong south light or in shadow, and so forth. Having thus carefully prepared his design, in which all the parts bear that harmonic relation to each other and to the whole which makes a work of art, he submits it to his employer.

Now there is no propensity more deeply seated in the nature of man, and consequently none more difficult to restrain or more pleasant to exercise, than the judging or critical faculty. Nothing flatters our self-love more than to be able to offer our advice in regard to the work of another, — to suggest some improvement, or condemn some fault. For this, we all know, is very easy to do, and it at once raises us to an equality with, or elevates us above, the original producer or artist. It is unreasonable to suppose that the patrons of architects should be exempted from the operation of this general law, and therefore the employer of our friend probably replies, after having examined his design: — "This is quite beautiful. The Italian style, I perceive. — Ah, how classic! But then you must alter these square windows, and

put in Gothic arched ones. I always said, if ever I built a house, I would have sharp-pointed windows."

Conceive the horror of our friend, the architect, at this barbarous order. If he can, he convinces his employer of the impropriety of his wishes; if he is not able to do that, he must either resign his job, or perpetrate an architectural solecism, which shall cause him to groan in anguish every time he sees it. Now this is not an exaggerated case. Similar ones are occurring every day, and they will occur, until our architects shall have become so well educated that the public shall put perfect confidence in their judgment, and no more dare to interfere with the creations of their genius, than to suggest an alteration in one of Shakspeare's plays, or propose some additional verses to Marco Bozzaris.

That this time will come is not a chimerical supposition, for it has come to civil engineers. They are much less interfered with than architects, and the less troubled as they have the greater reputation. No one had the assurance to propose to Mr. John B. Jervis to alter the proportions of his Croton viaduct at Haerlem; nor would they to an architect who was as well acquainted with his business as is that distinguished engineer with his.

Having thus said a few words in regard to what we think our architects ought to be, we will now give our views in regard to what our architecture ought to be.

The first requisite which a building should possess, which the translator of Vitruvius calls commodity, is, that it should entirely answer the purpose for which it is built. This seems simple enough, but how few, alas! of our buildings can escape censure on this important point. It should neither be too large nor too small, too mean nor too expensive; and least of all should any requisite of utility be sacrificed to appearance, as we see every day in our imitation of Greek architecture, where we submit to the darkening of our windows to gain the effect of a colonnade.

To be able to erect a building which shall possess this quality of commodity requires in the architect experience derived from much observation and thought, and a good stock of judgment and common sense.

The next requisite, that of firmness, demands excellence in the construction. It should not only be perfectly substantial, but this firmness should be gained with the

least possible outlay of labor and material, and consequently of expense, although it is better to err in making a building too strong than too weak.

To perform this well requires that the architect should be both theoretically and practically acquainted with carpentry, masonry, and the properties and uses of iron. So far we have required of him what we expect in a good builder or engineer. Now we go farther.

The third requisite, that of delight, or those things which make a building a work of art, is more difficult to define, as well as attain; but we may say that it depends upon three things.

The first is proportion, without which the eye can never be satisfied. The second is truthful expression, or that the building should show on its face the purpose for which it is designed. Lastly, finish, or the correspondence which the material of which the building is composed, the style of architecture employed, and the ornamental details, should have with one another and as a whole.

And in expression is comprised what Mr. Ruskin so strongly insists on in his Lamp of Truth, — that there should be no deception about the building; that every part should show for just what it is, and not pretend to be any thing else. A good architect will make a chimney, commonly an unsightly object, of such a beautiful shape as to be an ornament instead of a blemish. A bad one would try to make us believe that it was not a chimney, but a campanile, or bell-turret.

Having thus pointed out the threefold standard to which we deem it necessary that a building should conform, in order to rank as a fine piece of architecture, we have thought it instructive, and we hope it will not prove tedious, to examine some of our lately erected public buildings, and see how far they actually do conform to it.

First in point of magnitude is the new reservoir on Beacon Hill. In regard to commodity we have heard no fault found. Firmness it certainly has; and these two excellences are nothing but what we should expect from the distinguished engineers who had charge of its construction. And in the third quality which makes a fine piece of architecture, as well as engineering, we are glad to say we believe it as little deficient. It is expressive of its purpose; in those long rows of arches and massive

piers, in those solid and enduring walls, we recognize the truthful expression of its fitness to answer that purpose. It is good, and it shows itself to be so.

In regard to the finish, we cannot express too highly our gratification; for we here see that noble building material, Quincy granite, applied as it properly should be, — expressing strength and power. Our architects have generally spoiled their granite, whose attribute is strength, by smoothing and polishing its surface, and trying to make it like marble, thereby weakening its effect at a great cost. In this structure, the roughness of the material is its merit. The style of architecture was judiciously chosen. The Roman style is more expressive of strength and endurance than any other, and hence is very appropriate to such a work. The only purely ornamental detail is the cornice, or corbel-table, which crowns the whole, which we think is very effective. Its fault is one which seems to be inseparable from the nature of the ground. On the lower side of the reservoir, which is some sixty feet high, the cornice has the proper proportion, that makes it too heavy on the upper side, which is about a third as high as the lower. It is difficult, however, to see how this could have been avoided.

Here, then, is one structure, which, tried by the standard we have made, we can call a fine piece of architecture.

Among the buildings recently erected in Boston, there is none more conspicuous than the new Athenæum in Beacon Street. This building, so far as we can learn, answers every requisition which convenience and utility demand. It rather errs on the side of too much firmness than too little. The proportions are good, but the expression of the building is its chief merit. The effect is that of rich and elaborate elegance, which seems to stamp it at once as a building dedicated to literature and the fine arts. The style is of that species of Italian palatial architecture which was developed by Palladio. The rich, warm color of the material is very pleasing to the eye. The defect in the design, as it seems to us, is a certain tameness and absence of power, which arises from the different projections not being bold enough, and from a general want of simplicity. The façade is too much broken up, and covered with ornament, allowing no place for the eye to rest. A little more of what John Ruskin calls "the Rembrandtism of architecture" would improve

the building wonderfully. This absence of power is a less defect, inasmuch as beauty and elegance are to be expressed here rather than power; but still it is a defect, which no one sees more clearly than the accomplished architect himself.

Another building which excites much deserved admiration is the Boston Museum in Tremont Street. This is in the Roman palatial style; a style, we venture to assert, better adapted to the wants of our city architecture than any other. The firmness which this building shows puts to shame many others, where huge granite fronts are supported on puny cast-iron columns, which, if really strong enough to be safe (which we doubt), do not look so, and therefore ought not to be used. Sydney Smith prophesied that the dangerous practice of locking passengers into railway trains would never be discontinued until a bishop was burned alive in consequence. Perhaps this dangerous custom of building upon nothing will not be prohibited until a mayor falls a martyr.

The granite of which the Museum is built, though not so rough as that of the reservoir, is left sufficiently unhewn to bring out by contrast the effect of the dressed mouldings and cornice. The proportions of the interior hall are not so satisfactory as those of the façade. It is too narrow for its length and height, and the columns look too heavy. The flight of stairs, at the end of the hall, leading to the theatre, shows what a beautiful effect may be produced by this piece of interior architecture.

Another large building in the Roman palatial style is the terminal station of the Old Colony Railroad Company. The use of material here is good. The brick and dressed freestone mouldings harmonize well together, and the former brings out the latter in fine relief. The merit of this building, we think, lies in its adaptation to its purpose. The main edifice is of the size that utility demands, — sufficient to contain as many rooms as were wanted, and no more. Connected with this are the car sheds, which make necessarily a long, low building. The eye rests on the main structure, and we judge of the architecture of that, and consider the shed, as it is, merely an appendage. Had the Fitchburg station been built in this way, instead of carrying up the whole building, four hundred feet long, to the height of two stories, thereby giving room which is not needed, much of its cost would

have been saved. And yet the Old Colony station is as fine a piece of architecture certainly as the other, where a great expense was incurred merely "for looks."

The Roman palatial style we are glad to see becoming common in our cities. It is a rational, sensible style of architecture. It has no useless ornament. Its effect is derived from proportion, and from decorating and showing boldly the construction. The broad cornice intercepts the sun in summer, but not in winter, and protects the walls from the weather, besides giving a character to the whole building. The arched windows and doors express strength, as does the rustic base, when used, at the quoins at the angles. No useless pilasters support nothing; no worse than useless columns shut out the free light and air. There is no other style where so much effect is produced with so little money, a consideration which should recommend it to our thrifty people.

The Church of the Saviour, in Bedford Street, is a beautiful reproduction of mediæval art. Our buildings, generally, of the pointed style, show undeniable evidence of their origin. A window of the thirteenth century stands cheek by jowl with a door of the fifteenth, because they happened to be both in the same volume of Mr. Pugin's or Mr. Britton's book, from which the architect (?) copied them. What Mr. Robert Dale Owen calls the paleontology of architecture is utterly ignored; and a hybrid style, a confused mass of pinnacles and pointed arches, is the only result. There is no vitality about it. It is as dead as Erwin de Steinbach himself.

But the architect of this church has shown himself a master. In his hands the style is as plastic as it was four hundred years ago. There is harmony and symmetry about the whole building,—a prevalence of leading lines all flowing gracefully upward, symbolizing the aspiration of the soul to heaven, which the Christian or pointed style labors to express. The details are as beautiful as the general form, and as a piece of architecture we must call it a gem, and, if it were intended for the Catholic worship, a faultless one. But here is the defect of this otherwise "entire and perfect chrysolite." The buildings of the mediæval architects were intended, not for Protestants, but for Catholics.

The "long-drawn aisles" and interminable vistas.

were intended to give vast processions of worshippers opportunity of seeing the elevation of the host, and the splendid ceremonies of the mass. The "fretted vaults" resounded with the music of the majestic organ, and the mingled anthems of a thousand voices. The "gairish light of day" was excluded by the rich stained glass of the windows, and replaced by a dim, religious twilight, which aided the solemn effect of the scene. Every thing was calculated to stimulate emotion and repress thought. But when we attempt to reproduce such a building for the Congregational form of worship, the effect is always inconvenient, often ridiculous. The preacher can hardly be seen at the end of one of the long aisles, and had he the voice of Stentor, he could hardly hope to penetrate the forest of columns and projections which intercept sight and sound. The stained glass of the windows usually makes it so dark, that it is with much ado that we can see to read our hymn-books; and if the sun is very bright, it colors the congregation red, blue, and yellow, like a company of disabled prize-fighters, astonishing the beholders with green spots on the roseate bonnets of the ladies, and purple patches on the "frosty pows" of the elders.

Perhaps a time will come, as some predict, when our form of worship will be modified, and we shall have less of "this immoderate desire for preaching," which is so strong now. Until then, however, we had better beware of cathedrals. Mr. Upjohn was much derided for refusing to build a cathedral for a Unitarian society; his motives may have been worthy of derision, but in the main we think he was right. The Congregational form of worship is eminently social, and the buildings, to be in character, should be light, airy, and cheerful. Instead of imitating minsters, and attempting to breathe life into the dry bones of a bygone age, our architects should strive to make their buildings subservient to the uses and wants of to-day, — to let them boldly express their purpose on their fronts; and whatever of ornament the artist can add, let it be in keeping. If our architects will dare to do this, perhaps they may be able to produce a new style, which shall be modern and American.

T. C. C.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

On the Causes of the Success of the English Revolution of 1640–1688. *A Discourse. Designed as an Introduction to the History of the Reign of Charles the First.* By M. Guizot. London: John Murray. 1850. 8vo. pp. 138.

The object which M. Guizot proposes to himself in this very able tractate is worthy of his distinguished abilities as a statesman and historian. It is, "to show what are the causes which have crowned constitutional monarchy in England, and republican government in the United States, with that solid and lasting success which France and the rest of Europe are still vainly pursuing." And certainly there has never been a time when it was more important that that problem should be rightly solved, or when practical statesmen could study the lessons of the past to greater advantage, than now. Amidst the thousand conflicting theories of the present, it is well to go back to the history of other ages, and calmly survey the causes which produced, the principles which controlled, and the results which flowed from, their revolutions. This M. Guizot has attempted to do; and though we are reluctantly compelled to dissent from some of the judgments which he pronounces, we cannot but regard his essay as a valuable contribution to the philosophy of history.

After a few judicious remarks on the elementary characteristics of the Protestant Reformation, and on the impulse given to the popular mind throughout Europe by that great outbreak against despotic power, M. Guizot proceeds at once to speak of the different causes which united in bringing about the English Revolution, and impressed upon it its peculiar character. He next traces somewhat in detail the principal events which marked its history down to the final settlement of the government by the Convention Parliament of 1688. Then, after glancing at the various ineffectual attempts of the Stuarts to regain their ancestral throne, and summing up his own view of the whole period, he devotes a few pages to our American Revolution, concluding with a comparative estimate of Cromwell, William the Third, and Washington, in the main well considered and eloquently expressed. From this survey of his subject he draws one important lesson, as the result of his investigations, in which lies the *gist* of the whole discussion, — that "the policy which preserves a state from violent revolutions is also the only policy which can bring a revolution to a successful close." Few persons will be bold enough to question the truth of this postulate, though it may

well admit of doubt whether it is sufficiently broad to cover all the ground opened by M. Guizot's inquiry.

It should seem that much of the success attending the English and American Revolutions arose from the circumstance, that in both instances the people were prepared by a previous discipline for the enjoyment of a larger measure of freedom than they had before possessed. The revolutionary struggles on the Continent of Europe, in South America, and in Mexico, have failed of that large and permanent success which awaited similar struggles in England and the United States, because the people had not become fitted for self-government. A full-grown man can be intrusted with a much greater liberty of self-command than a child. In other words, the previous character of a people will, in a great degree, determine whether failure or success shall follow their attempts to reform the abuses of their political system. And since no plan of government can be so generalized as to apply to every nation, it appears far more important that revolutionists should correctly understand the character of their own people, than that they should aim to free their resistance to arbitrary power from every thing like violence. Where the abuses are many and great, more violence must be used in removing those abuses than is needful where the abuses are few and insignificant. Yet the same success will attend either revolution, if the people are equally capable of tasting the blessings of a purer government. In England, the Revolution of 1688 and the Reform Bill of 1832 both effected the purposes which they were designed to accomplish; but neither of them would have been suited to the state of affairs which called for the other.

This is substantially the view so admirably set forth by Mr. Macaulay in his History of England. At the time of the English Revolution, as he very happily remarks, the monarchy and Parliament both existed as they had been constituted during the Middle Ages; and as standing armies had not yet come into fashion, the power of the sovereign was checked by his dependence upon that body for the military service which formed a striking feature in the feudal system, and which alone enabled him to maintain the royal power and dignity. Accordingly, when he sought to free himself from this dependence, the popular resistance assumed the character of a preserving, rather than a destroying, revolution, and was marked by a devotion to ancient forms and precedents. Pym, in 1640, and Somers, in 1688, alike appealed to them. On the other hand, the Continental revolutions did not take place until all traces of the limited monarchy of the Middle Ages had vanished, and parliaments had fallen into desuetude. A different set of institutions had taken their place, standing armies had been organized, and power had become concentrated in the hands of the monarch. A destroying revolution was therefore needed to restore the popular free-

dom and the popular rights; and the people having, in the mean time, lost their capability of self-government, their revolutions have been nothing better than so many trials of irrational and impracticable theories. Moreover, these revolutions have taken place in regions where infidelity and the idolatrous superstitions of the Romish Church have exerted their blighting and withering influence upon the intellectual energies of the people. The English Revolution itself wellnigh made shipwreck on the High Church doctrine of passive obedience and the divine right of kings; and we should just as soon expect a popular revolution to succeed in New Holland or New Zealand as in France, Spain, Italy, or Germany, so long as skepticism or Romanism prevails there. Free institutions cannot flourish upon the soil which infidelity has made its own. They cannot live by the side of the Romish Church.

Our principal objection to M. Guizot's view is, that he does not seem to attach sufficient importance to these considerations. In general, however, he exhibits the same calmness, moderation, and impartiality which characterized his former work on the English Revolution. But the deplorable events of the year 1848 appear to have rendered him too distrustful of all revolutions, and to have led him to form too unfavorable an opinion of the Long Parliament, and particularly of those members of it who entertained republican principles. Yet it should constantly be borne in mind that the very men — Hyde, Falkland, and Colepepper — who, in the commencement of the struggle, supported the most violent, unconstitutional, and revolutionary measures, were afterwards among the most zealous supporters of Charles the First. Strafford's plan of *Thorough* was more unconstitutional than any measure proposed by the popular party previous to the death of Pym, with, perhaps, the single exception of the vote that Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. The execution of Charles, too, must be regarded rather as a great and fatal blunder than as a crime. With these and a very few similar objections, we have said all that a rigorous criticism can urge against M. Guizot's essay. For breadth of grasp, clearness of statement, and general soundness of view, it will compare favorably with any similar work on the subject which has fallen under our notice; and whatever differences of opinion may arise in regard to particular points, all will agree that it is a work of singular ability.

In Memoriam. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1850. 16mo. pp. 216.

The author's name does not appear in connection with this

elegant tribute of enduring friendship, and we have only the initials of the cherished companion to whose memory it is dedicated. But it is well understood that we are indebted for it to one of the most deservedly popular poets of the day, and that it commemorates the death of a son of the historian Hallam. No one, indeed, who is acquainted with Mr. Tennyson's works, could fail to recognize his tender sensibility, his teeming fancy, and the exquisite melody of his verse, in every part of the volume. Under its quaint title he has comprised a series of elegiac poems marked by all the higher qualities of his genius, which will not only be received with pleasure by the lovers of his poetry everywhere, but which will carry consolation to many a mourner, and take a permanent place in the literature of the affections. In them we trace the natural flow of the poet's grief, from the hour when he first hears of his friend's death in a foreign land, along through years of sadness and sorrow, until with a sober and chastened joy he invokes a blessing on his sister's marriage with another, only less noble and less loved than the buried friend who seems to him a silent guest, even at the wedding feast. We see his faith struggling with his sense of loss, gradually subduing his doubts, and at length coming off victorious from the protracted conflict. "In Memoriam," in short, is a perfect transcript of the poet's spiritual life under a bereavement which colors all his thoughts and meditations, and which is present to his mind in all the events of many successive years.

We have little disposition to criticize a volume which speaks so directly from the individual consciousness of the writer to the best feelings and purest sentiments of his readers; and, in truth, the very nature of its subject at once takes it out of the ordinary province of criticism. It is a book to be read in entire sympathy with its author, and not a volume to be subjected to the stern judgment of those who practise the "ungenial craft." The hard, cold world has nothing to do with such sacred outpourings of sorrow as we here find. They belong to the inner experience of the mourner, — an experience almost too holy for any but one's bosom friends to witness.

Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidences. By Archbishop Whately. Boston: Wm. Crosby and H. P. Nichols. 16mo. pp. 130.

One of the most encouraging signs of the times is an increasing and healthy interest in the religious education of the young, with the consequent multiplication of proper religious manuals. The children of our connection have long suffered from the well-

founded jealousy of doctrinal catechisms, which has gained so strong a hold upon parents and teachers; but we begin at length to realize that instructions may be positive and definite without being sectarian, and that a liberal and judicious training in youth is the best protection against sectarianism. The religious partisan finds no victim so ready as the young man or woman, whose natural teachers have unwisely abstained from "influencing" him, and have left the ground unplanted, because there might be some mistake about the seed. Through one or another method, as circumstances shall determine, the children of our churches must be brought under a systematic Christian culture; it is no small part of the work intrusted to the Christian pastor to see that the truth of the Gospel is brought to bear upon the mind and heart of childhood. There is reason to believe that this whole subject of early religious training is to be reinvestigated, and that, ere many years shall have elapsed, we shall have no cause to lament the temporary evils that have proceeded from the disuse of the old catechisms. In this matter the careful and discriminating labors of many minds are needed. Guarded as we are by our history and position against creeds and formularies, there would seem to be little danger in united effort for the preparation of religious manuals for the young. Perhaps, however, our favorite individualism will carry us safely through, and at least supply materials for selection and compilation.

The little book before us, attributed, as it would seem with sufficient reason, to that large-minded Christian scholar, Archbishop Whately, well deserves a place in a series of Sunday-school manuals. As suggested in the American Preface, it should come somewhat late in the course of study, according to the apostolic rule, "Add to your faith knowledge." The high culture which our religious and moral affections may receive under the Gospel is the best preparation for the study of Gospel evidences. It enables the mind to satisfy the condition, "They that are of the truth hear my voice." It does not prejudice us, but is a protection against prejudices, — the prejudices of animal and worldly passion.

Archbishop Whately has not discussed in this little book the genuineness of the Gospels. He has aimed rather to present some general considerations, suggested by a study of the contents of the Old and New Scriptures in connection with the history of the age in which Christianity appeared, the human advantages of the Evangelists, and the present prevalence of the Gospel. Besides this, we have remarks upon the evidence from prophecy, which, as is at once apparent, does not depend upon the genuineness of the *New* Testament; and two eminently Christian and suggestive chapters upon Modern Jews, considered in their relation to Christianity. Those who are familiar with the writings

of Archbishop Whately will not need to be told that this book is marked by discerning and judicious thought, clothed in a style of rare simplicity and clearness. We cannot but think that some of our over-confident doubters might read the little treatise with much profit, and gain some light upon miracles, with their relation to the internal evidences, and the weight to be allowed to *objections* generally. For children who have begun to inquire and reason, this Introduction to the Christian Evidences will be found very useful.

A Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. By WILLIAM CHAUVENET, A. M., Professor of Mathematics in the United States Naval Academy. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 1850.

THIS is one of a class of books as yet rare in America, but of which there is, fortunately, good promise for the future. Professor Chauvenet has furnished a work excellently adapted for use as a collegiate text-book; but he, nevertheless, had a higher aim. The volume before us is the most complete treatise on Trigonometry with which we are acquainted in any language. The author has availed himself of the important labors of living mathematicians, and we here find valuable formulæ, which are not given in any other tolerably complete work on the subject known to us.

In the original parts, Professor Chauvenet has added to his previous reputation, and we observe that the Astronomical Journal has expressed a highly favorable opinion, in a special notice of the work.

Confessions of an English Opium Eater, and Suspiria de Profundis. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1850. 16mo. pp. 272.

Sighs from the Depths those certainly are which are expressed in this volume. Whether they are also the sighs of true penitence and remorse is to be learned only by those who peruse the pages. For many years these Confessions, which were out of print in this country, held a place in literature where they stood alone, as in fact they still do, with the single exception of those letters of Coleridge which are made public in Cottle's Reminiscences. There is an intensely dramatic interest in this volume. It is the dissection of a living man,— of his muscles, nerves, brain, and heart, piece by piece, and then, not metaphorically either, an analysis of all the torturing sentiments of remorse and horror, of wicked elation and unholy aspiration, as the fruits of a tempting but sharply-fanged vice. The autobiography of anguish

is here delineated, not in a way to repel the reader from going to the end of the tale, but with a curious sympathy which fastens him to every page. The remarkable man who, thirty years ago, made public these confessions, has since produced some of the finest biographical and literary essays in our language, — essays which are animated by the author's peculiar genius. The publishers of the present volume promise to give us his other works in the same neat form.

Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell. Edited by WILLIAM BEATTIE, M. D., one of his Executors. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 556, 522.

WITH far more variety of narrative and incident, and with contributions from a wider circle of literary acquaintances than we had expected, these two large volumes will make a delightful addition to our literary stores. Personal particulars, if not so homely as to be undignified, or so minute as to be tedious, or so ungracious as to be scandalous, are, after all, the matter of a book which will most interest the mass of readers. Dr. Beattie has given us abundance of such material in his biographical sketches, in his genealogy and family history of the poet, and in the running commentary upon every incident in his life, and almost every line of his verse. Besides all the home incidents, we have also the field of foreign travel, as illustrated by Campbell's pen, to afford us continual variety. The names of a large number of the distinguished literary coteries of which only two or three individuals still survive are constantly brought before us in these pages, with not a little of their correspondence. A genial letter from Washington Irving to the Messrs. Harper is a warrant for the success of their enterprise in this republication. From the superficial examination which is all that we have had time as yet to make of these volumes, we look for much enjoyment from their deliberate perusal.

A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises. By RICHARD J. CLEVELAND. Third Edition, with Illustrations by Billings. Boston: Charles H. Peirce. 1850. 12mo. pp. 408.

MR. CLEVELAND'S modest but graphic narrative has already been received with great favor by those whose personal acquaintance with him gave added interest to his written experience, as well as by a much larger circle of readers. His voyages were made before steam had effected such a revolution in commercial enterprises, and before our merchant-ships were of the size and

equipment of the present day. For more than twenty years he tracked the deep in all the open waters of the globe. He saw some countries at a period when they had a fresher interest than now. We feel that we may receive with perfect confidence all that he writes. We commend the volume to all who will value a work of authority on subjects which are often treated with romance rather than with fact.

A Survey of the Doctrines and Duties of Religion. By Abel B. Jacocks, Author of a Work on "The Moral Government of God." Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1850. 16mo. pp. 80.

This little work is too brief and incomplete to serve as any more than a manual of instruction, of which the lessons shall be helped out and illustrated by the teacher. Perhaps it is on that account all the better adapted to convey, by a very simple method, an idea of those great truths which any number of volumes would not exhaust. Discretion and clearness, with succinctness of speech, and very sensible observations, characterize the volume.

Christian Thought on Life. In a Series of Discourses. By Henry Giles, Author of "Lectures and Essays." Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1850. 16mo. pp. 287.

There are thirteen of these Discourses, which, with suitable adaptation to their theme, may be said to thrill with life, with an electric, nervous energy, that quickens their style, and bears us on through them without any flagging of the attention. We have before given the subjects of them, and should we have an opportunity to offer at no distant season some suggestions upon the present attitude of the pulpit and the work of preaching, we shall have occasion again to use this volume.

The Rebels; or Boston before the Revolution. By the Author of "Hobomok." Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1850. 12mo. pp. 288.

This story, which was one of the earliest productions of the easy pen of Mrs. L. M. Child, was a favorite with us many long years ago. We have read since several of her writings, but in none of them have we found more vigor, more grace of conception, as shown in portraying characters, and inventing conversation, or more fidelity to fact. The story can hardly be called a

novel, as so much of its contents is actual history. The authoress had indeed the most tempting material. The town of Boston, just before the breaking out of hostilities in the War for Independence presented in miniature all the elements and parties of the strife that could have been found over the whole country. Many family connections, and more than one affair of the heart, met with the rudest trials before the first blow was struck, and thus the main pivot for a work of fiction might be had without the trouble of invention. The British officers in the town were enemies, not of its female residents, but rather of the old men and the young men. Mrs. Child might try her skill again, and we warrant her a goodly number of readers.

Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange. By John Francis. Author of the "History of the Bank of England, its Times and Traditions." Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1850. 8vo. pp. 167.

There are but few persons of any large knowledge of life, in these commercial times, who are wholly ignorant of the mystery that goes by the name of stock-jobbing, or by a less offensive name, as brokerage. But there cannot be many who will read the revelations made in this volume without amazement at being made acquainted for the first time with the arts and devices, the bold schemes, and the intricate calculations, which enter into the traffic in money. This volume, whose title might deter many persons from perusing it, on the supposition that it deals with mere mercantile matters, is in parts as exciting in its interest as the most highly wrought romances. The origin and influence of a national debt, the mania for speculations, the great bubbles which have agitated the avaricious passions, and sketches of famous money brokers, form the principal contents of the volume.

The School Hymn-Book, for Normal, High, and Grammar Schools. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1850. 18mo. pp. 240.

This little volume is designed to meet a want, which has been felt more and more, as the custom of opening or closing the daily exercises by singing has been introduced into an increasing number of our schools. That custom we most heartily approve. It is a real improvement in our times, concerning which we think it hardly possible that there can be two opinions. We should find a most decisive reason for preferring one school to another for our own children in the fact that in one of them the

art of singing was taught and practised daily. As a statute of this Commonwealth forbids the introduction into its public schools "of any book favoring the tenets of any sect of Christians," all hymns that would come under this ban are excluded from the little volume before us. It contains 328 hymns, with a list of tunes, and an index of subjects, and is commended to public approbation by the Principals of our three Normal Schools.

*** The Rev. Professor Park's Discourse before the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts is published in a separate form (Boston, Perkins & Whipple, 8vo, pp. 44), as well as in the Bibliotheca Sacra for July. It bears the title, "The Theology of the Intellect and of the Feelings." So far as we can express briefly the ground or basis of the distinction here raised, the preacher would refer the statement of religious truths, when made in strong, unqualified, or highly figurative language, unguarded and exaggerated, to the sentiments and emotions, thus constituting the theology of the feelings; but when the truths thus stated are qualified and harmonized by mediating between the strong and various expression of them, then the intellect has a theology. Unless, as we cannot but surmise is the case, something more is implied in this distinction and in the illustration of it beyond what Professor Park actually asserts, we see little, if any thing, in it beside the well-known variance between truth as stated in disjointed sentences and hyperboles, and truth as drawn out in carefully worded phrases. But we think we discern intimations of a more significant idea than this below the rich rhetoric and the wonderfully brilliant sentences of this discourse. Utterly apart from the idea which it aims to illustrate, it will chain attention, and reward perusal, by its elegant diction, its elaborate style, and its finely exhaustive use of the most expressive of the Scripture similes. There is a passage on page 33, which our readers may hunt out if they please, but which seems to us to come properly under neither the theology of the intellect nor the theology of the feelings. We should really be glad to know whether it formed a part of the original conception of the discourse, or was suggested by circumstances.

The Oration delivered before the city authorities of Boston, on July 4, 1850, by Edwin R. Whipple, (J. H. Eastburn, 8vo, pp. 30,) is entitled, "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution." It is of a wholly different style and manner from those numerous performances delivered on the anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence which have made such orations synonymous with bombast, fustian, and diseased patriotism. For acuteness of analysis, for vigor of thought, and even

for novelty of idea and method, this oration is remarkable. Something in its phraseology, or in its moulding into sentences and periods, makes it rather difficult to read it aloud, and it is a perfect marvel to us how the author could commit it and deliver it *memoriter*. After developing the idea of liberty or freedom which lay at the basis of the struggle, and presenting our Revolution as a contest for "rights which were customs, for ideas which were facts, for liberties which were actually existing laws," Mr. Whipple sketches, with a fine but strong pen, the British ministry of the day, and then comes to his noble theme, Washington. The orator seizes upon that wellnigh universal portraiture of Washington, which has long presented him as a singularly upright man of moderate mental abilities, and before he has done he has satisfied us that our great chief was intellectually a genius, a man of a great mind, of a noble soul, of the largest gifts of nature, and the loftiest acquisitions of character. Mr. Whipple says of him, — "This illustrous man, at once the world's admiration and enigma, we are taught by a fine instinct to venerate, and by a wrong opinion to misjudge." Never did antithesis state a more decisive truth. Washington has been underrated by all who have, in any way, qualified his greatness.

"An Essay on the Opium Trade, including a Sketch of its History, Extent, Effects, etc., as carried on in India and China, by Nathan Allen, M. D.," (Boston, John P. Jewett & Co., 8vo, pp. 68,) is the title of a pamphlet from which we have gathered much valuable information, while we have perused it with most painful feelings. Without aiming after an effect, the author produces one of the most impressive character. He records, with proper authentications, the history of the growth of opium, the honest and smuggling trade in it, the art and management which are used to put it into the hands of its consumers, the vast amount of expense which attends its use, the opposition which its sale has met with, the attempts of the Chinese government to exclude it, and the abominable course of the English government in forcing its sale and enriching itself by the traffic. Then, by the most startling descriptions, the horrible effects of opium-smoking and opium-eating are drawn out before us. We commend this very valuable essay to all who would have any thing like an accurate idea of the startling facts, which have not previously been made public in so complete a form. We feel indebted to Dr. Allen for the service which he will have rendered to humanity in thus exposing an iniquity through which half a million of human beings in China annually find a premature grave, and that people are drained annually of fifty millions of dollars as the price of their own ruin.

A Memoir of John Bromfield, by Josiah Quincy, (Cambridge, Metcalf & Co., 8vo, pp. 34,) does something towards removing a general impression in this community, — an impression shared in a measure, too, by some of the friends of the late Mr. Bromfield, — that he was a man of a morose and miserly nature. Known, as he was, as a man without family, living in the most economical manner, and seen upon the exchange, where the vicissitudes of the money-market offer opportunities to the rich financier, he was supposed by many to be sordidly penurious, and no great lover of his kind. Mr. Quincy gives a brief sketch of his life and character, principally in very interesting letters from a few of the intimate acquaintances of the deceased, and presents him to us, not in an exalted, but in a dignified manner, as struggling on from an adverse youth and early manhood, till, by industry and probity and prudence, which taught him economy and thrift, and in spite of some marked peculiarities, he achieved independence. He is found to have been faithful, in his own way, to the duties of humanity while he lived, besides endowing the Boston Athenæum with $25,000 in his lifetime, and leaving public legacies to the amount of $110,000.

The Oration delivered by Edward Everett, on the Celebration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, has been published, together with an account of the celebration in the great ship-house, and at the dinner-table (Boston, Redding & Co., 8vo, pp. 80). The occasion was a marked one. The orator thus completes his work of associating his splendid periods and his eloquent voice with the three great battle-scenes of Massachusetts. His orations at Concord and Lexington are more descriptive, but this is the most philosophical, and its paragraphs are burdened with the wisdom of a rich experience, pervaded by thought and study.

Two more of the "Latter-Day Pamphlets, edited by Thomas Carlyle," No. VII., Hudson's Statue, and No. VIII., Jesuitism, (16mo, pp. 48, 58,) have been published by Phillips, Sampson, & Co., Boston.

Mr. Elizur Wright of this city has taken Mr. Carlyle in hand, and after much the same fashion in the use or abuse of the English language, and by the aid of incongruous epithets and images, seeks to riddle the Latter-Day Pamphlets. We suppose that Mr. Wright intends to do his work upon each one of Mr. Carlyle's series. "Perforations in the Latter-Day Pamphlets" is the title under which Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. have issued the first number of Mr. Wright's essays, in uniform appearance with their reprints of Carlyle. (pp. 48.)

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. have published the twenty-third semi-monthly number of their rich and valuable edition of Shakspeare. Without any falling off in the mechanical excellence of the paper, the type, or the engravings, each successive number sustains the reputation of the work, and finds, we believe, an increasing circulation. We again commend it to all who are without a proper copy of the great poet.

Lester's "Gallery of Illustrious Americans," an enterprise of great merit, presents for its seventh and eighth numbers, fine engravings of Colonel Fremont and of William H. Prescott, with accompanying biographical sketches. The more the editor is patronized, the better will he labor to make his enterprise most successful.

The Messrs. Harper have published, in a neat form, an American edition of Sydney Smith's Moral Philosophy, a work which is noticed in our pages.

Messrs. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln have published a second and revised edition of Professor Felton's translation of Professor Guyot's Lectures on "The Earth and Man." This valuable work, whose merits we have already discussed, has appeared in two editions in London, and in one at Paris.

Messrs. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields have published a new volume of poems by Whittier, entitled "Songs of Labor." We have not had time to examine it, but the author, as a poet or prose-writer, needs no introduction to our readers.

The history of the American Revolution is put into a most attractive form for the young, and indeed for their parents, in the serial work by Lossing, entitled "The Pictorial Field-Book of the American Revolution," five numbers of which, beautifully printed and richly illustrated, have been published by the Harpers.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Death of Neander. — A recent arrival from Europe has brought to us the intelligence of the decease of one of the most honored and worthy of the great Christian scholars of Germany, Dr. Augustus Nean-

der. He died of a form of cholera, on Sunday, July 14, at Berlin, where, for a period longer than that of a human generation, he has been an instructor of successive bands of Christian teachers, and has helped to train religiously the mind of his whole nation. He was, in many respects, a remarkable and a very interesting man. He was born of Jewish parentage, in the year 1787, at Göttingen. At the early age of seventeen he was converted to Christianity. Of course, at that stage of his intellectual and spiritual development his conversion can scarcely be claimed as involving the highest exercise of judgment, and must have been, more or less, influenced by circumstances independent of his own mental action. But his whole subsequent career continually kept open before him the grounds and reasons on which he retained a residuum of his former faith in Judaism, and the whole of his after faith in the Gospel, as the blossom and the fruit of a revelation from God. Over and over again, with all the thoroughness and erudition of the highest class of German scholars, with a most penetrating sagacity, and a most patient candor, did he study the whole written lore of the ancient world, and especially the records of Christian antiquity. The collisions of an incessant scholastic warfare, the acute and ingenious, though often fanciful and shadowy, theories of a race of Biblical critics, and the destructive systems of unbelief and so-called philosophy which continually arose around him, forbade his mind to rust, or his faith to continue alive without daily renewal. Neander lived and wrote and taught through one of the most critical periods of the discussions which involve the authority and the substance of the revelation made by God through Jesus Christ. No weapon which sophistry, logic, ridicule, or real scholarship and the most exhausting skill of sharp intellects, could find to employ against the Gospel, was left untried by some of those who lived contemporaneously with him, and even taught directly at his side. If with some degree of satisfaction we may claim his adherence to an old-fashioned Christian belief as a proof of the undamaged foundations of the Gospel, we may with even higher satisfaction call to mind his acknowledged candor, his perfect freedom from all rancor, his generous confidence, his fearless tolerance in dealing with those who labored to destroy what he sought to build up. A poor bigot, or even a timid and sincere believer, would probably have used the power, which Neander had offered to him, of forbidding the publication in Prussia of Strauss's "Life of Jesus." But Neander discouraged such weak opposition to the entire liberty of the mind and the press, and advised that the work should be allowed to circulate with perfect freedom, while it should be subjected to the fair trial of a perusal, an examination, and a reply. He was faithful in the exercise of his abilities to these latter ends, and so could well dispense with the help of his fears.

Of all the works of Neander, his History of the Christian Religion, and of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church, is the most thorough, elaborate, and valuable. That the History is a perfect work, probably only a portion even of the admirers of the author would care to assert. Its style and rhetoric are not wholly to our taste; from its conclusions, as well as from its philosophy, we are often led to differ. There is at times a vagueness in its statements, and a dimness cast over its discussions, which perplex us. We see the same defects in his Life of Christ, in which we are often left in doubt as to the theory which the author adopts, or the bearing of his opinions upon matters where a de-

cisive assertion would be very much to our satisfaction. Probably the constant influence of familiarity with a thousand conflicting fancies and theories had an insensible effect upon him, which he was not careful either to allow for or to resist in his own writings. And yet there is a vividness, an earnestness, a power in his pages, which equally please and instruct a reader. How such a man, and the author of such sentences and paragaphs as might be quoted from him, retained the repute and the savor of *Orthodoxy* among English and American admirers surpasses our comprehension. The merest shadow of that system is all that can be made to appear in his works, and we can scarcely be said to find even that there, unless we look aside to the right hand or to the left. Indeed, we have seen many significant hints in Orthodox pages this side of the water, that Neander was one of the friends from whose pleading and advocacy they wished themselves to be delivered.

Many anecdotes are related by the pupils and acquaintances of Neander illustrative of his eccentricities, his absence of mind, his ungainly and untidy ways, and his nervous manner in his public lectures. We hope that these stories are exaggerated. We take no pleasure in being informed that his sister found it necessary to watch by the lecture-room daily, that she might show him the way home, or that he neglected to dress himself decently, or that he delivered his lessons with his legs swung over a chair. We cannot avoid the misgiving, that there is more or less of affectation in such extreme absence of mind and slovenliness. At any rate, they do not enter into the essential or the ornamental parts of the Christian scholar and gentleman. Doubtless his oddities have been overstated.

The correspondence of such a man with such men as those with whom he exchanged epistles must have a high interest and value. One or more volumes of these materials, with whatever papers of autobiographical or personal contents he may have left behind him, would be highly prized by us, and we shall look forward with the hope that we may be thus gratified.

Literary Addresses. — During the season of the year which is just closing upon us, the columns of the weekly and the daily papers throughout New England, and some of the adjoining States, and the fresh pamphlets in our bookshops, bear witness to the number of occasions for the delivery of literary addresses. Indeed, pamphlets of this general character are evidently multiplying around us, to a degree which indicates that they are to form a large department of what we call American literature. A few words upon what may be and what ought to be the character and material of such addresses will not be out of place.

Not only our colleges, but our larger and more ambitious academies and seminaries for pupils of either sex, have now a day or an evening set apart for an annual festival consecrated to letters. The services of our men of genius and distinction are enlisted for the delivery of orations and poems. The number of such occasions will surprise any one who may not have kept pace with the yearly addition which is made to them. Within our memory, — and that not a long one, — the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge was the only literary society known to us by the observance of such an anniversary. But now, even the existence of some of our literary institutions, in town and country, has been first

revealed to us by the sight of newspaper paragraphs announcing the orators and poets for their summer anniversaries. The same news items have also made known to us how many gentlemen there are who are available for such occasions, and who stand ready to produce what shall fill up, however it may meet and satisfy the expectations of, the hour. Literary Societies, Academic Brotherhoods, Adelphic Unions, Associations of Alumni, and fraternities designated by two or more letters of the Greek alphabet, are formed for the sole purpose of paying this tribute to letters, or of exacting this service from them.

When, however, we examine, even without a purpose of criticism, the contents and character of such of these performances as we read or hear, we are led to infer, either that the number of them is too large, or that some who deliver them are incompetent to their work, or that the proper demands of the occasions are not understood. Doubtless the occasions are actually too numerous to assure success for each, and the yearly draft at so many open fountains is more than our best mental springs will supply. But the most frequent cause of failure is a disregard, on the part of the orator, and sometimes on the part of the poet, of the specific design of these occasions, and a want of harmony with their spirit as literary festivals.

Themes of an exclusively literary and intellectual character are most appropriate to such occasions, and these themes are certainly abundantly fruitful. The pleasures, tasks, and responsibilities of the literary life; the laws, and labors, and growth of the intellect; the interests of good letters, as embracing language, ethnology, criticism, and biography, with the whole range of illustration from the wealth of libraries, from fields whose diligent gleaning will draw even from their surface the riches as of deep mines, more precious than all their previous harvestings; the cause of education, from its summit-peaks of high science and scholarship, down to its most popular levels; the claims of our literary institutions upon the patronage of wealth, and the intelligent favor of the representatives of the people, — here are abundant themes suited to demonstrative eloquence in the academic hall, before literary brotherhoods on their summer anniversaries. One would think that, when an elected orator was seeking for a subject, he could not avoid such as these, which must press upon his mind and invite and allure him. But how is it in fact? These subjects are avoided, and the substitutes which are chosen for them are sometimes utterly out of harmony with the occasion. Not infrequently the so-called oration is a farrago of commonplaces, a threadless, incongruous, and impertinent succession of sentences, whose prosy wearisomeness gives vexation to an audience, broken only by occasional clapping for a poor pun or a hard witticism. We wish that it might be understood that political, controversial, reformatory, and anti-reformatory harangues, and all commonplaces of all sorts, are out of time and out of place on our literary festivals.

Nor need there be any fear that other subjects — subjects, too, of confessedly higher importance than any literary themes — should fail of their dues if excluded from these occasions. For other occasions in full abundance, even to the making of an Indian bead-string of the days of our year, give time and place for every topic of serious or pleasant interest to us. There are occasions without number for political addresses, on elections to office and retirements from it, in letters and speeches before the nation and before its states, districts, counties, towns, and villages.

There are occasions for patriotic harangues, on our battle anniversaries, and on our day of national observance. There are occasions for religious and charitable appeals, on the weekly Sunday, through Anniversary Week, and before audiences called together for the express purpose, a condition which will make such appeals appropriate at any time and in any place. Nor do we lack proper and numerous occasions for the advocacy of great reforms, and even for criticisms upon the measures of reformers, if any one finds it in his heart to spend his time in finding fault where he had better set himself at work. We have occasions when a horticultural or an agricultural oration is the very zest of the hour. All orderly housekeepers, having been to the market in the morning and purchased their food chosen for the day, look, when they go home to dine, to find on their tables what they expected, and if the viands are changed, even though it be for the better, may feel disappointed. But if something was substituted on their tables which they positively disliked, the failure of their expectations would be but half their trial. There are many sympathies between the spiritual and the carnal nature in man, and therefore much the same trial in its various degrees is experienced when an expected address is not in the mood of the hour, — literary or scholarly.

Certain pamphlets that are lying by us, and some newspaper reports which we have read, afford us materials to illustrate what we have above written, but we forbear.

Commencement at Harvard College. — Under a warm sun, as usual, though with a fresh breeze for those who were so situated as to feel it, the great annual festival day at Cambridge assembled its honored and goodly company on July 17th. The members of the graduating class, to the number of sixty-five, furnished about thirty speakers, who, in brief orations, essays, and poems, in the Latin and English languages, occupied nearly five hours in the church, and then received in course their Bachelor's Degree. The composition and delivery of the parts showed no lack of interest in speakers or hearers, and parents and friends seemed pleased with the exercises. The Degree of Doctor in Medicine was conferred upon thirty-three candidates, who had attended the prescribed course of medical instruction. The Degree of Bachelor of Laws was conferred upon thirty-six candidates. The President then announced the following Honorary Degrees, as conferred by the Corporation, with the consent of the Board of Overseers.

The Degree of Doctor in Theology, upon Rev. George W. Blagden of Boston, Rev. W. P. Lunt of Quincy, Rev. Joseph Torrey of Burlington, Vt., Rev. Frederic A. Farley of Brooklyn, New York, and Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer of Clinton, New York.

The Degree of Doctor of Laws, upon George Ticknor and Charles G. Loring, of Boston, Charles King of New York, Ebenezer Lane of Ohio, and Francis Lieber of South Carolina.

The Degree of Master of Arts, upon Charles H. Olmsted of Hartford, Ct., Thomas T. Bouvé of Boston, George Livermore of Cambridge, Rev. Lucius R. Paige of Cambridge, Rev. Thomas S. King of Boston, and H. T. Tuckerman of New York.

The Degree of Doctor in Medicine, upon Dr. Rufus Longley of Haverhill.

After the dinner in Harvard Hall, and the singing of the usual psalm, President Sparks resigned the chair to Hon. Edward Everett, as a Vice-President of the Association of the Alumni, and then for the first time an observance was introduced, which it is designed and hoped shall always henceforward attend this occasion. Mr. Everett read over twice, once continuously, and the second time with pauses, the list of graduates who had deceased since the last Commencement; the pauses being designed to give opportunity for commemorative remarks from classmates or friends of the departed. As nearly as could be ascertained, forty-two of the graduates were known to have died during the last Academic year. Of course the list cannot be expected to be always full or perfectly accurate, as the sons of the College are spread over the whole surface of the earth. Several whose names were read were appropriately and touchingly brought back to the honored halls from which they had gone out for ever. The oldest surviving graduate, Mr. James Lovell, formerly of Boston, died in South Carolina a week before Commencement, aged 93. He graduated in 1776. Samuel Payson, Esq., of Charlestown, Mass., is now the oldest survivor, and, with his classmate, the Hon. John Welles of Boston, marks the class of 1782 as the farthest back upon the catalogue which contains names without a star. Dr. Benjamin Abbot, the late well-known principal of Exeter Academy, was commemorated by Francis Bowen, elect Professor of History. Ex-President Everett paid a most genial tribute to the late beloved Dr. Pierce. Rev. Jeroboam Parker, Hon. Stephen Longfellow, Rev. Charles Train, Hon. Theodore Lyman, and others, found due mention and notice. The late Dr. George Parkman was among the departed of the year. Sadness followed the mention of his name. In the lecture-room above the dining-hall, the Alumni then proceeded to elect the officers of the Association for the coming year, as follows: — Hon. Edward Everett, President; Hon. Josiah Quincy, jr., and Hon. Charles H. Warren, Vice-Presidents; and Rev. S. K. Lothrop, Secretary.

Phi Beta Kappa Society. — The anniversary exercises of this literary fraternity were held in the First Church in Cambridge, on Thursday, July 18th. After prayer by Rev. S. K. Lothrop, Judge Timothy Walker, of Cincinnati, Ohio, the orator of the day, delivered an oration on "The Reform Spirit of the Day." (Published by J. Munroe & Co., Boston, 8vo, pp. 38.) The powerful tones of the orator's voice gave emphasis to the words in which, with great plainness, and without aiming after rhetorical graces, he described the spirit of destruction, change, and innovation, and the almost universal ultraism, of our day. He applied his theme to the whole circle of human interests, and aimed to inculcate that wisdom which, with a wise conservatism, seeks only after changes for the better.

The poem followed, by J. Bayard Taylor, of New York, — a production which exhibited fine thought, beautiful imagery, and smooth versification. His theme was, the Materials in Scenery, Legends, and History which America affords for the Poet's Art.

The Dublin Review on the Inquisition. — The Dublin Review, the great organ of the English Roman Catholics, and a quarterly which is

conducted with great ability, contains in the number for July two articles of prominent importance, a sketch of which may not be without interest to some of our readers. The first of these articles is upon the Inquisition, and upon the Principle of Intolerance in general, as made the basis of long-standing censure against the Roman Church. The writer introduces the subject by affirming that, as in the old French Revolution, so in the recent Roman tumult, a virulent spite against the Church has spent itself in vamping tales of horror about the "Holy Office." He sets himself to the task of relieving his communion from some of the odium which it has long borne for its intolerance, and its secret tribunals. His first suggestion is, that nothing is more common or more unjust than eulogies of the philosophical and tolerant character of the ancient religions, as if thus in contrast with the bigotry of Rome. The Egyptians and Persians, the Greeks and the Jews, and even the Romans, are shown to have been intolerant, and severely so. A second point insisted upon is, that the persecuting spirit in the Christian Church was not first called out and exercised in the Middle Ages, but was born from the moment in which the hand of violence from Paganism became powerless against the Church. Jews and heretics, Arians, Athanasians, and Pagans, in turn felt its severity. The writer next presses the familiar argument, that not Catholics alone, but all Christian sects that have had the power, have been persecutors, a charge from which they are not exempt who have claimed the largest liberty of thought and worship. The fourth suggestion in the plea of the writer embraces several specifications, and is very elaborately presented, though, as we think, it is not without a degree of sophistry. He says that, in considering the course of the Catholics in reference to the question of religious toleration, it is the invariable practice to judge them, not in accordance with their own principles, but by the ideas and principles of their accusers. The Roman Church recognizes a fixed and acknowledged standard of doctrinal truth, a departure from which is a culpable error, *a crime of the intellect;* hence a theory of punishment for errors of the intellect is conceivable in that Church, though according to Protestant principles it would be a contradiction and an absurdity. The obvious answer to this sophistry is, that what the writer so falsely calls *the Church* — as if he meant something identical with the idea of Jesus Christ — makes a most unwarranted and impudent encroachment when it pretends to define and punish *a crime of the intellect.* There is more weight in the next two considerations urged by the writer, namely, that progress has changed the ideas, feelings, principles, and institutions which once universally prevailed, and substituted for them milder measures and sentiments, and also, that men's notions of the theory of punishment have been generally softened, so that it is unjust to judge a past age by the light of the present. The writer affirms that the erection of the Inquisition as a distinct tribunal involved no new principle, enacted no new laws, but simply watched over the enforcement of ancient laws which were not peculiar to Catholic states, and at a time when the criminal code of Europe was more severe than it now is, and when crimes against religion were held punishable by the civil power. Still, the writer boldly maintains that the modern system of universal toleration is founded upon unsound fallacies, and is, in fact, utterly impracticable. To sustain this assertion, he quotes the work of Balmez, — "Protestantism and Catholicity compared." That author supposes the case of

a religion which requires human sacrifices as seeking to establish itself, — say in England, — and asserts that, as to deny it liberty would be to violate the consciences of its disciples, that denial which would of course be visited upon it involves intolerance, and therefore proves our modern Protestant principle impracticable. How absurd is the plea! We answer it by simply denying the right of any human being to have a religion which involves the lives of other human beings. He also supposes that an infamous worship like that formerly paid to the Goddess of Love, or that licentious doctrines like those of Matthew of Haerlem or John of Leyden, might ask for tolerance, the denial of which would impugn our Protestantism. To this we answer, that as immorality never can make itself religion, it can never ask for the toleration which is claimed for religion.

The writer in the Review goes on to argue, that the profession of any doctrine which is directly opposed to the interests of morality, of society, and the safety of the state, ceases to be *a merely spiritual offence*, becomes a crime against society, and is subject to the cognizance of the civil power. Even should a doctrine seem innocuous, and admit of being made an offence against the state by the turbulence, fanaticism, or disloyalty of its teacher, it is directly punishable as a social or political offence. We deny altogether the justice of this argument, as thus generally stated, and we allege the fact, that it is proved to be practically and actually falsified by experience. Protestant states do not take cognizance of the most dangerous *doctrines*, till they really produce immoral, seditious, or treasonable effects in *practice*, nor always even then. The institution of the "Agapemone" in England was allowed to pass unnoticed by the civil law, till an individual concerned in it appealed for protection from an outrage which it involved against the parental relation. Nor were the absurd and mischievous principles of the "Agapemone" interfered with in the slightest degree when the civil law held one of its members amenable to the duties of a husband and a father. Again, the doctrines and practices of the Shakers might be constructively regarded as prejudicial to morality, society, and the state. But they are unmolested. We doubt whether they would be undisturbed in a Roman Catholic country, unless it might be that the views of that Church concerning celibacy and virginity would throw over them the veil of honor. Again, Turkey has, till now, been diplomatically represented in Paris by the Prince Callimaki, who has been a distinguished and much courted guest and host in the *salons* of that city. He has generously denied himself his Ottoman privilege of a plurality of wives during his official residence. But who can suppose that in France, or in any other country not merely negatively, but positively, Protestant, he would have been interfered with had he chosen to establish a harem!

Once more, the writer in the Review boldly maintains, that, in a community which is still of one faith, and especially which recognizes one standard of belief, to which all are bound to submit, the introduction of new and distracting opinions may be resisted as a mere measure of civil police, and the government may prohibit all attempts at innovation, and punish its authors, not for their doctrines, but for their crimes against public order. Now the case thus supposed, of unity of faith and one recognized standard of belief, regarded as not only of religious authority, but as vitally important to civil and social order, was precisely the state

of things which once existed here in Massachusetts. If the principle asserted had been enforced here, there would not now be a single Roman Catholic church in this Commonwealth. What would our pleader have to say under this application of his theory? The writer goes on to hint at another ground of justification for his Church, though he does nothing more than state it, namely, that, from the very nature of the offence of heresy, its fatal influence upon society makes it as much more amenable to a civil and criminal process than counterfeiting, coining, or any like crime, as the life of the soul exceeds the goods of the body. But who shall define what heresy is? Indeed, we know of no process so likely to make a heretic, as the attempt to define heresy, in its modern sense, and to proceed to punish others on the strength of one's own definition of it.

The article before us then devotes more than a score of pages to redeem the Inquisition from its load of infamy. Premising that, excepting later times, especially in Spain, there was not a single sect or party for whose suppression the Inquisition exerted its agency, that did not involve anti-social, turbulent, or immoral practices, the writer asserts that in its very origin it indicated a coalition of the civil and ecclesiastical powers. Its occasional and incidental iniquities are candidly allowed by the writer, who says that "it arose in disorderly and unnatural times, and it gradually expired with the circumstances in which it arose." It speedily became inoperative in France, and comparatively so in Italy. Protestant odium is chiefly concentrated upon the modern tribunal in Spain. The writer yields this point with but a feeble attempt at extenuation. The tribunal there originated and sustained itself under peculiar circumstances. It was revived under the zeal of Ferdinand and Isabella, as a royal institution, receiving its sanction indeed from Pope Sixtus the Fourth, but afterwards sturdily maintaining its independence of the Papal authority, which was in vain exerted to check and resist its barbarities. These barbarities, however, are said to have been grossly exaggerated, and a brief exposure of some of the alleged errors in Llorente's well-known "Critical History of the Inquisition," is presented, and to a degree substantiated. The reputed number of its victims is greatly diminished; its use of torture is referred to the universal practice of the civil and criminal tribunals of the time, while its atrocities are denied, and its secrecy in its examinations, and the reception of testimony without confronting the witnesses with the accused, are also said to have been borrowed from the other courts.

We have thus gone through with an article which has engaged our attention not a little. We rejoice that so able a writer and so zealous a Roman Catholic has thought it desirable to attempt any thing like an apology for his Church in this matter of intolerance. If the article as a whole gives us little satisfaction, the writer would probably ascribe to the force of our prejudices what we must believe is chargeable upon the impossibility of the task which he has undertaken. He might make his argument stronger at every point, and especially in his distinction of the Spanish tribunal as withstanding the highest authority in the Church. He may also avail himself of the common plea of his fellow Romanists, that the ecclesiastical power never proceeded to extremities against heretics, but delivered them over for punishment to the secular power. We cannot allow ourselves to forget that the Inquisition, always, everywhere, and under all circumstances, exercised its functions

to make and to retain disciples of the Roman Catholic Church, and that the secular power which tortured and burnt heretics *had received its directions and its training for that work from the ecclesiastical power*. It was always for the interests of the Roman Church as a domineering hierarchy, an iron ruler of consciences, a cunning and scheming intermeddler in all the civil, social, and domestic relations of men and women, and not for the interests of science, true liberty, progress, intelligence, humanity, and real essential piety, that the Holy Office was employed, whether a minister of justice, a bishop, or a Dominican general presided over it.

Nor, in conclusion, do we admit the slightest degree of weight or justice in the counter-charge which is brought against Protestantism and Puritanism, of having been intolerant and persecuting where they have had the power to be so. On the contrary, without denying the fact, it seems to us to aggravate the burden of sin which rests upon the Roman and the Prelatical Churches. It was in those Churches that Protestants and Puritans received their education. So deeply was the spirit of intolerance, of civil liability for religious opinions, inwrought into the essence of the Roman, and even of the Episcopal Church, that our fathers never dreamed of denying the principle altogether. They took for granted, that a spirit from which they had suffered so much was right in itself, though wrong only in the method and subjects of its exercise. They thought intolerance *in some shape* was an essential part of religion, and so they practised it from the force of long habit and sufferance. We hold the Roman and Prelatical Churches accountable for all the intolerance of our Protestant and Puritan fathers. Full and unanswerable evidence might be adduced to prove this point. It is enough for us now to intimate, that, as true Protestantism becomes daily more truly liberal, it proves that intolerance is not a principle essential to it, while Romanism and Prelacy still cling to their usurped and tyrannical authority.

Dr. Achilli. — The other article in the Dublin Review to which curiosity drew our attention bears the name of Dr. Achilli. During the events of the siege of Rome the last year, many interesting episodes occurred to divide the anxious earnestness with which the current of events was watched by all Christendom. The great stake was the continuance of the Papacy, — that stake is not yet decided. The rivalries between France and Austria: the relation of Naples to the Roman See: the proposed intermeddling of Spain: the actual, though informal, interference of Great Britain, — formed lesser, but still very exciting incidents dependent upon and entering into the main issue. The fate of pictures, statues, and other works of art, was also involved. But yet another matter of interest engaged the chief attention of a large party in the religious world, who, availing themselves of the distracted state of things in the Eternal City, were employing diligent agents to circulate tracts and Bibles, and by secret and well-devised channels were kept advised of the progress of their portion of the work of revolution and proselytism. This party was that which is technically called the *Evangelical* party. We are inclined to believe that a vast deal more has been accomplished through the efforts of various associations in this body, than has as yet come fully to the light. It is a very strong and a very active

and a very zealous body, and it has diligently used its means of serving the cause of religious liberty indirectly, if not directly, by giving vast annoyance to the Roman ecclesiastics. England, Scotland, and Ireland, France, Switzerland, and the United States, have contributed largely to this enterprise. A large number of Bibles, tracts, fly-sheets, catechisms, and newspapers have been put in circulation, and several very effective assaults have been aimed against the various institutions of Rome.

Those who have taken even but a passing notice of events as they transpired, and read the paragraphs in our papers which gave the incidents of the siege, of the French military occupation, and of the return of Pius the Ninth, were constantly informed by each arrival of the fate, the fortunes, and the experience of a certain Dr. Achilli. The importance which the Orthodox journals attached to the proceedings in reference to him seemed to exceed in some minds the interest of the main issue. He was described as formerly a Roman priest and prior, who had filled several distinguished professorships in the Church with high fame for learning, virtue, and eloquence, but who had renounced Romanism and its dignities, had become a Protestant "of five years' standing," a zealous Evangelical proselyter, an agent of Bible and tract circulation, and of course a victim of the Inquisition, and a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, for having married a wife, broken his vows, and become a pestilent heretic and disorganizer. The fate of this man seemed in the minds of many of our religious editors and letter-writers to have become identified with the cause of the Roman republic and of religious liberty for Italy. After each successive arrival, our papers had something to say about the imprisonment of Dr. Achilli, intimating that he might be secretly made way with, till at length, through the influence of the *Evangelical* party, all but diplomatic proceedings were instituted for his release. Messrs. Craig and Touna, "Honorary Secretaries of the Committee of the London Society for the Religious Improvement of Italy and the Italians," in a memorial addressed to the government of France, earnestly demanded his liberty, and he was accordingly, through a powerful influence, allowed to pass from the prison-walls, and to go where he pleased beyond the borders of the States of the Church.

Another succession of newspaper paragraphs for the last six months has described a series of Evangelical ovations which have been made for Dr. Achilli in Great Britain. He has told the story of his conversion, of his wrongs, and of his labors, has exposed the iniquitous secrets from whose abettors he has cleared himself, has written sundry very independent letters to the Pope, and upon platforms and at tea-parties has been lionized as a martyr and an apostle. His life has been written by a very distinguished Evangelical lay leader, Sir Culling Eardley Eardley, and while throngs have attended upon him in various places, thousands who have never seen him have become interested in him. With what misgivings we have noted all these accounts, it is of no consequence that we should acquaint our readers. Our apprehensions as to the integrity, the purity of motive, the fitness and desert of the man, and our utter mistrust of the wisdom of the course which he and his friends were pursuing, were founded upon general facts and previous experience. We had, to speak briefly, no faith in the man, nor in his story, and we felt satisfied that all these overtures to him would tell, in the

long run, more for the Roman Church than against it, that he was ministering to a weak and ignorant bigotry, not to an enlightened piety, and that a development must come out, to the credit neither of himself, of his abettors, nor of his cause. The Exeter-Hall no-Popery rant, the Evangelical parties over tea and buns, and the platform writings of a poor and superficial spirit of proselytism, never will help the cause of religious liberty, or meet the issues of our controversy with Rome. Previous experience, too, has over and over again warned us to beware of noisy apostates and converts, of wandering proselyters and lecturers against their former brethren or religious communion. We have had them on this side of the water, and we avoid them. They invariably show a bad spirit, and if they are not actually burdened with disgrace, they seldom harm their former brethren so much as those who adopt them. A very different course and demeanour befit a sincere convert. His very experience will have humbled him and taught him gentleness and dignity of thought, modesty of behaviour, and forbearance of speech. If he was ever a sincere disciple of the fold which he has left, some of his heart-strings will yet and always cling to it, and friends among the living and the dead will make his memories of it to be tender. The last thing which such a convert will do will be to become a platform ranter, or a retailer of scandals at tea-parties among an odious assembly of viperous bigots. Especially in such a controversy as that between the Roman Church and Protestantism do we pray deliverance from all such instruments on either side. There are great principles at issue which minds properly informed may discuss with any degree of earnestness and spirit, and with such a sense of the tremendous importance in past history and over times to come of the matters that enter into the controversy, that they shall be borne above the miserable artifices which have often disgraced both parties.

The Dublin Review gives us from authentic documents, and from police records, a complete history of the so-called Dr. Achilli, who has no claim to the title which he assumes. He was ordained a priest of the Roman Church, and all that the Roman Inquisition ever had to do with him was to deprive him of all his functions because of his most flagitious conduct in repeated acts of seduction and crime. He is proved to be utterly unworthy of credit, a very base and bad man, and a most unquestionable impostor.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Anniversary of the Theological School at Meadville, Pa. — The exercises connected with the anniversary of this flourishing institution took place on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, June 25th, 26th, and 27th, in the Independent Church in that borough. On Tuesday evening a meeting was held, in which the members of the School were addressed by the Professors, by Elders Church and Barnham of the Christian Connection, and by Messrs. Peabody and Tiffany, the latter of whom has lately returned from his theological studies in Germany. The chief subjects of remark were the aims and objects, the encouragements and responsibilities, of the Christian ministry at the present time. The Sermon to the Graduating Class was preached by the Rev.

A. P. Peabody, of Portsmouth, N. H., on "The Work of the Ministry." The theses by the members of the graduating class were read on Thursday, as follows: — "The Resurrection of Christ," William Bradley; "The Field is the World," Bryan J. Butts; "Christian Union," Ammirus Darrow; "Francis Xavier," William A. Fuller; "The Psalms of David," Sawyer A. Hutchinson; "The Doctrine of Election," John Orrell; "The Pulpit a Throne," George W. Webster; "The Pastor," John McCarty. The words of sympathy, of advice, and of farewell, by which President Stebbins accompanied the delivery of the certificates to those whom he dismissed to their chosen work, were earnest, wise, and affectionate.

An association for religious and literary purposes has been formed among the graduates of the Meadville School, and the Rev. George J. Ball, of Upton, Mass., has been chosen to deliver the first annual address, at the next anniversary.

The *Meadville Theological School* has now completed the sixth year of its existence, and appears to have realized every expectation of its friends. The class which graduated this year numbered eight, and the whole number of students who have been or are connected with it is seventy-one. The majority of these have come in nearly equal proportions from the Christian and Unitarian bodies. Four other denominations have also contributed a small quota. Fourteen States and the Province of Canada have been represented among its pupils. Graduates of the institution are settled or preaching at Rockstream, Jefferson, Buffalo, Chicago, Dayton, St. Louis, Rockford, Northumberland, and other points in the Middle and Western States, besides some who are travelling on missionary ground, and one who is engaged as a colporteur. A few also are settled in New England. Of the twenty-six who pursued their studies in the institution during the past year, only two came from the Unitarian societies of New England. This would indicate that the fears which have been expressed of its interfering with Cambridge are ill grounded. It has opened for itself new sources of supply, which are likely to increase in copiousness. The prospect for the next year's class is better than usual. Three members of it have already arrived in Meadville, and the whole number will probably reach, if not exceed, a dozen.

The library of the institution contains 5,400 volumes, and private libraries are open to the students, which contain nearly 4,000. The regular course of instruction lasts three years, but if any, for the sake of greater thoroughness, or in order to make up for previous deficiency, desire to remain four, they will find a course of study adapted to their wants. For such as are already engaged in the ministry, or whose circumstances in life preclude them from remaining three years, a one or two years' course is provided. The object of those who manage the institution is to meet the wants of the community, — to furnish a *thorough* theological education to all who are ready to receive it, yet not to send away empty such as must choose between a less complete course and none at all.

The locality of the school is healthy, and is destined to become peculiarly accessible. On this latter point a word of explanation may be satisfactory to some of our readers. Two main railroad routes are now in course of construction through the free States, from east to west. To form one of these, the lines from Boston and New York unite on

the southern shore of Lake Erie, at Dunkirk, to and beyond which point they will be finished during the ensuing year. Thence through Chicago to the Mississippi at Galena, the largest part of the road is either under contract or finished. The other line, from Philadelphia to St. Louis, is completed, or under contract, with trifling exceptions, from the former city to the western boundary of Ohio, and, we believe, also through part of Indiana. These roads, which connect by branches with the entire surface of the free States, and along which all travel between the east and west must pass, are forced by the convergence of Lake Erie and the Ohio at the western extremity of Pennsylvania to within eighty miles of each other; and Meadville is situated almost in the line of convergence. The lake will, sooner or later, be connected at this point with the Ohio, by a railroad, the charter for which has already been obtained, and the ground for which is favorable, a canal being already in operation between the two points.

In the Meadville School there are five professors, of whom three are resident and two non-resident. Of the resident professors, one derives the larger part of his support from the Unitarian Society at Meadville, as its pastor, and the labors of one are gratuitous. The non-resident professors visit the school annually, to deliver their respective courses of lectures. They receive no compensation for their services, their expenses alone being defrayed. The funded property of the school amounts to $7,000. Its other property is valued at $5,000. The expenses of the school are covered chiefly by annual subscriptions or contributions, and amount to but $1,400 for salaries, and from $300 to $350 for contingent expenses. It is earnestly to be desired that the permanent funds of the institution should be increased, since, in obtaining officers of instruction, an unendowed cannot offer the same inducements as an endowed institution, and may fail of commanding those services without which both it and the community that depends on it must suffer.

A want scarcely less serious than the foregoing is that of a building for the general purposes of the school. The present edifice contains a chapel and two recitation-rooms, but affords inadequate, and no separate, accommodation for the library. No lodging-houses are owned by the school, and those which it has been obliged to lease are so ill adapted to that purpose as to be no light trial both to officers and students. By an estimate made, it seems that for $6,500 a brick building could be erected, which should contain a chapel, library, recitation-rooms, custodian's apartments, and commodious quarters for thirty-five students. The grounds and part of the foregoing sum will be furnished in Meadville, where a liberal contribution is also ready whenever an effort shall be made to endow the school. Most sincerely do we hope that Liberal Christians will not be long in furnishing the moderate sum requisite to the security and prosperity of the institution.

Theological School at Cambridge. — The Sermon before the Graduating Class from the Divinity School at Cambridge — the preacher being chosen by the members of the class — was preached by the Rev. John Weiss, of New Bedford, in the Church of the First Parish, on Sunday evening, July 14th. The discourse was of a highly philosophical character, one of a class of performances which we ourselves do not love on such occasions, if on any occasion, but which we think it unfair to crit-

icize unless we have the printed pages before us with the full sanction of the author. Hegelianism, in all its shapes and aspects, in all the degrees of its advocacy, and even in the hard terms of speech and the remote conceptions through which it must be examined for rejection, is to us so far apart from the needful training of a Gospel minister that we should never be tempted to discuss it.

The exercises at the Thirty-fourth Annual Visitation of the Divinity School took place at the College Chapel on Tuesday, July 16. After prayer by Professor Noyes, theses were read by the three members of the Graduating Class as follows: — "The Hebrew Prophet," by Mr. Amory Battles. "Does Free Inquiry in Religion diminish the Influence of the Clergy?" by Mr. Charles J. Bowen. "The Reformation in the English Church in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," by Mr. Charles E. Hodges. The exercises, divided by the singing of three hymns, were closed with prayer by Professor Francis.

The journals of several of the religious denominations around us have found matter of surprise, or amusement, or triumph, according to their spirit, in the unprecedentedly small number of candidates which Cambridge sends forth this year to the great work of the Christian ministry. That there is in this single fact, however, any indication of the general condition or prospects of our denomination, it would be wholly unnecessary for us to attempt to disprove.

That any of us, whose sympathies and labors are engaged in what is called Liberal Christianity, should be satisfied, or otherwise than pained, with the apparently unattractive and unprosperous condition of our Divinity School, it would be vain to deny or to disguise. Looking at the matter from any point of view from which we may contemplate it, we are equally disappointed, though not discouraged, or without faith in a better time to come. When we consider what large sums have been contributed by the piety and zeal of the last generation of our brethren to provide a comfortable dwelling for pupils, and the means for their thorough education in sacred learning and in all the culture of mind and heart which is desirable in Christian teachers, and when we think of the advantages which are thus offered at Cambridge, in its two faithful and laborious professors, its libraries, and its social influences, we cannot but ask, Why does not more come from all these sources of good? As we look over the records of the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education at Cambridge, by whose efforts and donations the School was founded and endowed, we have before our eyes the names of many of the most distinguished and honored laymen and ministers of this neighbourhood, — nearly all of them now numbered among the departed, — who lavished their best affection and gifts upon this School, and looked to it for widely extended, for permanent, and ever-increasing effects. That it has done a noble and a beneficent work, and has in some measure fulfilled the hopes of its founders, we gratefully acknowledge. But its means are not fully honored in its present work and fruits. We believe that its prospects will yet brighten, and that after having felt all the discouraging influence of many trying experiences through which our community has passed, it will yet find more favor with God and with man. The primary and most effective cause of the present condition of the School at Cambridge is to be found lying entirely behind and utterly distinct from any thing that concerns especially our own religious denomination. If we felt the slightest in-

clination to reply to the unfriendly remarks which we have noticed in the sectarian newspapers, we have at our hands abundant means for proving that all the other religious bodies experience precisely the same perplexities and trials that are visited upon us, as well as others from which we are free. The General Theological Seminary at New York (Episcopal) is convulsed with the discords and contentions which keep the sect to which it belongs in constant agitation. The seminaries at Andover, Windsor, Bangor, and Princeton live in the midst of theological party contentions, and at the same time find it difficult to fill their halls with pupils. The famous American Education Society, which a few years ago was a most vigorous and efficient association, inspiriting by its own overflowing energies the churches of the large and strong body which sustained it, is now in a languishing and almost a dying condition. The Rev. Mr. Stearns of Cambridgeport, one of the most beloved and influential clergymen of the Orthodox Congregationalists, has declined the urgent appeal made to him to become its Secretary, and its prospects are all the less hopeful because of the spasmodic existence of a rival society. The simple truth is, that the Christian ministry is not the same inviting, peaceful, and permanent sphere of life and duty which it once was, though it was never more needed, and never half so effective in its agency as it is now. It never embraced so large a relative proportion of the scholars and powerful minds of our own community. It never required any thing like the attainments and accomplishments which every little village society now wishes for in its pastor.

At the same time that the demands upon the ministry have so largely increased, a number of new avenues to public influence have been opened, and there are many other professions inviting those who in former generations would probably have entered its service. Our numerous colleges, academies, and high-schools, our scientific, architectural, constructive and engineering enterprises, and the whole wide field of prosperous and busy life around us, demand high talents, moral culture, and intelligence in the very large number of young men that are needed to fill all their attractive offices, and every one of these offices, with scarce an exception, has been created during the last half-century. Young men now can hardly be persuaded that they are any the less fulfilling the demands of a noble ambition, and performing an honorable service for God and man in either of these spheres of duty, than if they entered the ministry.

In the mean while the Christian ministry has come to present very many new trials, embarrassments, and difficulties. Its tenure is painfully uncertain to the husband and the father. Its mental standard is the highest. Its moral and social requisitions are the severest. An unsuccessful or dismissed minister, or a waiting and long-suffering candidate, is a terror to those who are meditating upon the choice of the ministry. And then the task involved in writing sermons for these days is wellnigh overwhelming. All the fundamental and vital matters which formerly were never touched, but were taken for granted, are now most freely discussed, and the whole philosophy of religion, of belief and unbelief, of Theism and Atheism and Pantheism, is read by some who sit in pews, and expected from our pulpits. If the secret breasts of some ministers could be revealed, we believe it would appear that more than one among them is, during alternate weeks, what used to

be called an infidel, and then a believer. And this is the consequence, not of any mental, moral, or spiritual error of the man himself, but of the strange discords of theory, speculation, and discussion with which an inquisitive mind is now beset. Then, too, a minister is now subject to all the caprices of the fault-finding, the difficult, the narrow-minded, and what are called the *influential* persons in his society. He must often either truckle, or suffer, — or both. What with the philosophers, the reformers, the come-outers, male and female, the *signers-off*, the penurious pew-owners, and the various discontents of some country parishes, he that is called to be a religious teacher will soon find himself attracted by a beautiful hymn of Logan's, which begins, "How still and peaceful is the grave."

Thus it is, that, entirely irrespective of sect or denomination, the Christian ministry has lost some of its ancient attractions, and gathered many new discomfitures and trials. That any young men now enter upon it, and pursue it, with single-hearted zeal, and with more than ordinary endowments, is actually a higher tribute to it than it received in the days of early martyrdom. We believe that all these perplexities beset the ministry among us. Some of them we feel to a much less degree, others to a much higher degree, than do other denominations or communions. They cannot but affect the minds of young men in their academic training, and while they are in college. If some who have entered the ministry in their youth had an opportunity of a new choice later in life, they would probably prefer some other sphere of labor; while, on the other hand, some who were repelled in their youth from the ministry would gladly adopt it if they could in later years. We think it, on the whole, objectionable, for many reasons, that the choice of a profession among us must be made so early in life. In the discourse which Dr. Gannett delivered before the Association of the Alumni on the afternoon of this day, he insisted upon the life-long, undeviating, and unchanging constancy of a minister to his profession. We admit that this would be the rule of duty and of all success, if every wise previous condition were regarded by those who entered upon the ministry. But many who in youth prepare themselves for that work, and commit themselves to it, find in themselves afterwards a lack of some or of all the qualities for success in it, some inaptitude or infelicity, some defect of voice, or manner, or mind, which incapacitates them from pleasing or edifying. Besides, it takes two parties to decide now-a-days whether a Christian minister shall continue in the ministry, and live by it, or even die by it.

We regret, we complain of, none of these trials and discomfitures which we have mentioned. We are willing that the ministry should retain its likeness from age to age to the apostolic pattern of a warfare, though against new enemies and trials. We consent to its terms and conditions among us. We will live in it and die in it, if the other party to the work allows us. Its vicissitudes of care and exaction and conflict are not without the accompaniment of honors when deserved, of satisfactions and rewards when earned by faithfulness, — for then only are they possible. When a sufficiency of time and experience has caused the present terms and conditions of the Christian ministry to be well understood, and has settled its relative demands and opportunities with those of other professions, we shall look for brighter days for all our theological schools, and especially for that at Cambridge. Till

then we wait in patience, resolved upon as little fault-finding as human nature can be healthfully content with. Of one thing we may be sure, that the world will no more dispense with religious teachers than with fuel and water. And those religious teachers must be Christian teachers till a better religion than that of Jesus Christ is invented by man or revealed to him.

Meeting of the Association of the Alumni. — This annual meeting of those who have received a theological education at Cambridge took place in the College Chapel in the afternoon. The Rev. Prof. Noyes declined a reëlection as President. The officers chosen were, Rev. Francis Parkman, D. D., President; Rev. Ralph Sanger of Dover, Vice-President; Rev. J. F. W. Ware of Cambridgeport, Secretary; with a Standing Committee.

The Rev. Calvin Lincoln of Fitchburg having been already chosen as Preacher for next year, the Rev. Dr. Putnam was elected by ballot as Second Preacher.

The Annual Discourse was then delivered by the Rev. Dr. Gannett. His subject was Ministerial Devotedness, as the Condition of Obligation and of Success in the Christian Ministry. His chosen profession demands of the minister a concentrated, entire, constant, life-long, and single-hearted devotion. This claim should be met, it should be recognized in adherence to the profession through all trials, in the use of time, in the method of study, in preparation for the pulpit, in dress and manners and habits, and in every possible mode of influence. The preacher presented what were in his view the loftiest model, the most exacting duties, and the most serious obligations of a minister of Jesus Christ.

Installation and Ordination. — The Rev. William H. Kinsley was installed as Minister of the First Congregational Society in Mendon, on June 10th. The Introductory Prayer was offered by Rev. Adin Ballou; Selections from Scripture, by Rev. Mr. Stacy; Sermon, by Rev. Dr. Gannett; Prayer of Installation, by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Uxbridge; Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev Mr. Fuller of Manchester; Address to the Society, by Rev. A. Hill of Worcester.

Mr. Francis Le Baron, formerly of Plymouth, was ordained as an Evangelist and Minister at Large, in Worcester, on July 3d; the Services, which were held in the Church of the Unity, were as follows: — Introductory Prayer, by Rev. Warren Burton; Selections from Scripture, by Rev. George M. Bartol of Lancaster; Prayer of Ordination, by Rev. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth; Sermon, by Rev. John Weiss of New Bedford; Charge, by Rev. William B. Greene of Brookfield; Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Alonzo Hill of Worcester.

Dedication. — The new church edifice erected by the Second Liberal Congregational Society in Lowell, under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Barry, was dedicated on July 10th. The Dedicatory Discourse was preached by Rev. Dr. Gannett.

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER, 1850.

Art. I. — MODERN SKEPTICISM.*

It is evident, from many signs, that Christianity is, in one way or another, the principal thing to which the thought of our age is directed. It cannot be passed by with an ignoring, indifferent mind. Some view of it, favorable or adverse, every man with the smallest pretensions to intellect, or the least concern about his character, must take. It is the ancient tower of strength which has held its treasure and covered its friends, while from many generations of enemies it has challenged the blows whose dint is but the proof of its impregnableness. The most important discussions of the present day relate to it. No discovery in science, no form of government, no metaphysical novelty, no social scheme, arrests such attention. It is the greatest organized, instituted, and

*1. *On the Religious Ideas.* By William Johnson Fox, M. P. London: Charles Fox, 67 Paternoster Row. 1849. 8vo. pp. 245.

2. *Popular Christianity, its Transition State and Probable Development.* By Frederick J. Foxton, A. B., formerly of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Perpetual Curate of Stoke Prior, and Docklow, Herefordshire. London: John Chapman, 142 Strand. 1849. 12mo. pp. 226.

3. *Phases of Faith; or Passages from the History of my Creed.* By Francis William Newman, formerly Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford. London: John Chapman, 142 Strand. 1850. 12mo. pp. 234.

4. *The Progress of the Intellect, as exemplified in the Religious Development of the Greeks and Hebrews.* By Robert William Mackay. In two volumes. London: John Chapman, 142 Strand. 1850. 8vo. pp. 488, 520.

enduring fact in the world. Like any great work of art or nature, the Pyramids or the everlasting hills, it asks to be in some sense accepted and accounted for. The ontologist and the historian, the transcendentalist and the antiquarian, the man of letters or of affairs, must all give an explanation of it and take a part towards it, or be set down as dull to the first of demands and without an answer to the greatest question. Our own day has been, perhaps even beyond all preceding periods, prolific of speculations and criticisms on this great phenomenon. It is a day at once of the strongest Christian faith and the boldest unbelief. It presents the mightiest and most beneficent applications of the Gospel, with the gathering up from all time of a variety of skeptical devices and theories, to which we cannot well imagine the ingenious infidelity of the human heart should ever add. But, after considering well these many trials, we cannot see that our religion shakes under any assault, or crumbles by any undermining. As in the testing by an immense strain of the toughest iron or stone, it turns the greatest violence into the measure which falls short of its own solidity. While many reason against it, and more are ready at every point with replies to every suggestion of doubt, it argues for itself, in a way which it is hard for any subtilty to meet, by going ever more deeply into the life of the human race. Like an unconquerable knight in the lists of old, it answers the thrust of axe and shaft and spear by *still standing*. It abides and works and moves on, at the head of all that is best on earth, with a blessed subduing of mankind to its own gifts of freedom and virtue and immortal joy. It operates through the Church, the oldest, widest, purest, and most potent of associations. It acts as a spirit, with the deepest of all energies, in the private soul. It utters a word, the most persuasive and heavenly ever heard by human ear. Knowledge and civil liberty, all manhood and all womanhood pay to it their debt in thanksgivings. England and Ethiopia stretch out, the one liberated, the other half unchained, but both grateful hands for it to God. A multitude we cannot number, of different ages and climes, rise on earth and descend from heaven, to be Christ's witnesses, saying, — "He has made better men of us. He has redeemed us from our errors and sins.

What was best and happiest for us in life, or most hopeful in death, he has bestowed. Beside all the firm old outworks of his religion, this living and eternal pillar of it has been reared in our own souls." So that Christianity is supported on other than mere historic or logical grounds. Not only are its records genuine and authentic, but its monuments in the present rise parallel with those in the past. It is the top of character, the soul of thought, the flower of wisdom, and the essence of love, as well as the crown of testimony and triumph of argument. It is absolute and actual religion, a boundless principle and a definite fact. Men query whether it have a real cause or true annals, and meanwhile it transforms the world and renews the human soul. It is reasoned against with the power of thought derived from its own training, by such as are willing to show their degeneracy by dishonoring their intellectual parentage, and to expose themselves to that quotation from the Apostle, — "If thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee." Often the very man who calls Christianity in question has fallen or may fall under her power, or furnishes in his own course the reason and refutation of his disbelief.

Such general reflections have come to us after examining the works whose titles we have enumerated. We would sympathize with the honest struggles of doubting, and encourage the faithful efforts of inquiring minds, but must report that we have not found these books on the whole to be the most profitable reading. Few if any of the objections in them to our religion, as a special and supernatural interposition from God, are new. Their authors, indeed, were answered before they wrote. What they have said, really forcible, is not for us to consider, as it holds against views we do not entertain. Many particular points of difficulty they find in assenting to the record of our religion and receiving Christ as the Messiah, Son of God and Saviour of the world, have been so often disposed of, that we cannot go back again to their consideration, which would indeed require us to rewrite the bulky volumes of Christian evidence yet sufficing for their purpose, at least until some more successful attempt to remove the grounds on which they rest. We must maintain, also, that thus far the rejecters of a supernatural religion have hardly done more than a business of

negation and attempted destruction. They offer us no worthy substitute for the religion they would take away. They seem preposterously to suppose that every man is to find his own substitute, and to go about with his own individual wit, and out of his independent resources to create a religion for himself, — a hypothesis based on ideas of human nature and of the condition of mankind, which it were folly almost as great to combat as to entertain. Instead of a wearisome repetition of minute controversy upon all the questions reopened in these publications, we propose to take up some of the general principles on which they proceed. It is easy to see that the particular reasonings of each writer grow out of some previous broader position towards Christianity, with the mood of feeling that position excites. The statement best bringing out the real inquiry involved seems to us to be this. Is what goes by the name of Christianity a human development or a Divine manifestation? Is it the growth of our nature, or an extraordinary communication from God? Does it find its emblem in the plant, that, with an internal stimulus, puts forth from the ground, or in the wind from heaven drawing up, against its own tendency, the column of water over the sea? Neglecting minor issues, let us put the productions now before us into the light of this comprehensive interrogation, and, if we can, ascertain which way the balance fairly sways. If it sink upon one side, then we shall find the explanation and constituting elements of our faith in such considerations as the original capacities of the human mind, the regular progress of knowledge, the difference of races, by which one is mainly disposed to art, a second to policy, a third to religion, — and the effects of extraordinary genius in individual men. If the scale incline otherwise, then the origin of what we believe and hope will appear in a higher than any earthly soil, in the will of God and his electing spirit instead of the course of nature. The first part of the grand alternative shows God as a vague name for something we can never know, or conceive of, or commune with; the second discloses a personal, conscious Deity, a real friend, and a loving parent.

We must begin by characterizing Mr. Fox's essay as made wholly in the direction of the sufficiency of nature. The spiritual indifference of a pantheistic belief

runs through all his speculations. There is no moral earnestness in the tone of his mind. He seems rather desirous to level Christianity to the lowness of a generalization including all religions, than to vindicate for it any superior claim. We can hardly conceive he would feel much more interest in its propagation than he would in that of Mohammedanism if he lived in Turkey. He passes lightly over the grounds on which the Gospel challenges a peculiar devotion, affirming that the same grounds, perhaps in a larger, more imposing way, are presented for other modes of faith. All the varieties of religious thought and sentiment have, in his view, sprung up from a common soil, have an equal right to existence, and the same legitimate hold on those disposed to adopt and carry out any one of them. We can hardly count on one who reasons thus to be in any way a zealous missionary of the cross. Nay, though considerable beauty of rhetoric with a sonorous declamation marks his style, and we doubt not an innocent purpose goes with his fluent and easy composition, we think that the mind which should take no disgust at his treatment of his themes would find its conscientious nerve and motive to effort relaxed under his influence. The whole implication is, that we have no controversy with God after all. The arguments with which he attempts to fortify his skepticism are altogether too light, if not stale, to be again handled, though, had we space, there is opportunity enough to take exception to a multitude of his statements. We are truly sorry that we cannot, in the way of general remark, say any thing more favorable. We question not Mr. Fox's honesty or good intention, we acknowledge his abilities, but we must wish him a better work, and greater success in it, than we can own in his present endeavour. Truly, in reference to the general question we have moved, our feeling from his book would be, that every thing had grown up out of the earth and the human mind, and nothing come down from the skies and the hand of God.

The "Popular Christianity" of Mr. Foxton, we confess, in the circumstances under which it is put forth, perplexes us. How a man can be "Perpetual Curate of Stoke Prior, and Docklow, Herefordshire," while privately holding and publicly proclaiming the ideas of this book,

really passes our comprehension. Even with our own views of the ritual of the English Church, we suppose it would be somewhat difficult for us to obtain the position and title of our author. But that one, who not only shocks even our reverence for the Anglican Liturgy, but proceeds to cut out miracle and prophecy, the Divinity of Christ, and all peculiar inspiration from the Scriptures, should either be allowed, or in his own mind content, to exercise the office of an episcopal dignitary in the proudest Church on earth, is indeed a practical riddle. It must be classed among the most singular marvels of a "time out of joint." His book contains in itself a remarkable mixture of truth and error, which it might be worth while for us here to search into and separate, were not the truth very familiar to us, and the error such as has been frequently and fully exposed. The anomalous position occupied by the author of the work puts him under a serious disadvantage as to the hearing he may obtain for his arguments, and also suggests a doubt whether skeptical and rationalistic speculation has upon the character of men the generous effects sometimes supposed.

Mr. Newman's "Phases of Faith" is a work in the same strain, of greater power. It is autobiographical, and presents him as having been socially a martyr to his principles. The tenor of his writing works in us a conviction of his sincerity and high aims, although we think he occasionally falls into the mistake, so natural in an excommunicated person, of exaggerated assumptions for himself, and bitter, if not unjust, imputations upon others. The sinful and fallible nature of man rarely allows either party in any dispute to be wholly right or wholly wrong. The tone of Mr. Newman's thought and feeling strangely reminds us of Blanco White. Both seem to have been unable to rest in any settled religious faith. They appear to touch any solid conviction only to rebound from it, and to pass from point to point of opinion, as with successive elastic strokes leaps an ivory ball. Both are exceedingly jealous of human influence, and of any recognized and common authority. Tradition and general consent savor to them strongly of falsehood. Either some injury in life has left with them an unhealed soreness, which makes them start sensitively from all

approach, or they belong to a perhaps existing class of minds, constitutionally critical and unbelieving, in the line of spiritual descent from that disciple Thomas, whose satisfaction we cannot but fervently pray they may some time obtain; if not before, yet in that brighter world where, we doubt not, Mr. White for one has entered into rest. This suspicious, dissatisfied, and unbelieving quality of mind may have driven Mr. Newman, as it has some in our acquaintance, to that sad and narrow stand of pure individualism which he seems now resolved to occupy, and never put trust in others again. But the circle of one's own solitary being is a poor refuge for repose. We have never known, and we question if it be possible, for one so to find the peace he seeks. The mind that protests through all the Protestant divisions, till it leaves every communion to be alone, will at last only discover that it is in conflict with itself, all other strifes replaced by an internal and sorely rending one. No man can live ever in the pure high air of abstract contemplation. As the traveller at the top of the highest mountains spits blood, so our moral constitution gives out when removed from the sympathy of our kind. God has so made us, that even communion with himself will not suffice us, without communion with our race. Or if there be such a thing as a healthy and happy existence cut off from human fellowship, it is one of those extreme possibilities most rarely reached. Some such glory hovered over the Saviour when he said he was not alone because the Father was with him. Here lies the power of Christ's Church, that it is communion on the highest terms. Here, too, the melancholy of the man who severs, or will not be held by, the cords of this relationship.

Mr. Newman gives a curious illustration of the extent to which he has gone in this individualizing mood, and of the spiritual shifts to which it constrains him, in the declaration he makes, that, if he should "read afresh the life of Fletcher of Madeley," he suspects he should "think his character a more perfect one than that of Jesus"! This is a sufficient reduction to absurdity of his whole theory. It might be peculiarly interesting to follow him through all his "phases," and enter into the various investigations to which he has given a zest by the frank unbosoming of himself. But the topics he insists

on are really old, and have long been matters of exhausting discussion. Moreover, it is the less necessary to go further, on account of an admirable notice of his book, which we cannot err in attributing to Mr. Martineau, in the "Prospective Review." Not agreeing with every point in the Review, in the whole tendency it shows towards an evangelical faith, as well as in its strength of handling of high subjects, we greatly rejoice.

Mr. Mackay's book is the one on our list of by far the largest pretensions. From the title and some notices, our expectations of it were very much raised. This, we thought, must be the strong, last word of rationalism for which we have long been waiting. The glove of defiance is now at length, in these modern days, fairly thrown down to Christianity, and we must look round for our theological giant to pick it up. But, notwithstanding the very considerable merits in some respects of "The Progress of the Intellect," we must, on the whole, profess our disappointment. It is a work neither of original genius nor of great power of thought, but mainly a report of mythological learning and great reference-book. It is a distillation from the religious literature of the Greeks and Hebrews. It is a gathering up of the doctrines of the past and tendencies of the human mind relating to the nature of God, of modes of worship and ideas of salvation, not put into clear, broad, new, or inspiring light before us, but rather mechanically condensed. It is a noble monument, certainly, to the author's patience and industry, and a great witness to the fulness of his memory and his notes. But for want of those rays of light shooting along, which only the highest reason and imagination can supply, it is a somewhat heavy and wearisome book to go through. Facts and authorities are piled up till our intellectual vision is cut off and our attention gives way. As a collation of ancient and modern dogmas, and a repertory of customs and opinions, it may be very valuable to those who have a decided antiquarian taste. We are incompetent to verify the vast range of sources to which for its assertions it points. So far as its general trustworthiness is concerned, we hope there is not the same impertinence and contradictoriness to the point we have found in some of the Scripture allusions. To Mr. Mackay true religion

is very much a thing of the intellect, in the head. It is an understanding and application of the laws of God as they are observed in nature. He glorifies positive knowledge somewhat as the unreligious, if not atheistic, M. Comte does. Christianity, as it is anywhere held by the followers of Christ, is with him but as one of the superstitions compared with this more enlightened, perfect religion, which it is the privilege of a few towering intellects to reach. If his notions of religion are correct, few indeed of the human race can be religious. What an enterprise it would be to send forth the mass of men, in all their conditions of ignorance, error, want, and sin, exploring the universe to detect the materials out of which to construct a religion each one for himself. A forlorn state of humanity it would indeed be! Wretched contrivances truly would one and another of the multitude make for his grief, and sickness, and remorse, if the most elevated and discerning, with all the aids of education and social intelligence, succeed so ill! For ourselves, and for all we can reach, we shall continue to prefer the Gospel of Christ as the way of salvation, at least till something better is offered in its place than this Babel, which, with such a confusion of tongues, a party of ambitious architects are striving to raise up to heaven. There is some language in this book with respect to miracle, to which before closing we shall refer. For the present, having given such space as we could to a description of the books before us, we would suggest some reflections on that general theory which would make Christianity a human development instead of a Divine manifestation, and of which Mr. Mackay will probably be considered as, in our English speech, the most masterly advocate.

Let us consider nature and revelation, reason and inspiration, law and miracle, as sources or confirmations of religious truth and comfort to the mind.

First, we must maintain that nature without revelation does not suffice for the religious instruction of men; including under revelation those supernatural facts, in general, which cannot be considered as any unfolding of earthly elements. *Nature* is a somewhat vague word, but we suppose we use it properly as denoting the finished constitution of things, as it comes within the

scope of our perception and regularly proceeds under our notice. In the very idea of nature there is thus an argument against considering it an original and sufficient fountain of light. Nay, the word itself indicates that nature is but a result born and produced of some real cause, which may not be exhausted in this one effect; may operate in other and extraordinary ways, and to which we must look, if we would receive direct as well as reflected light. But we do not design to treat this subject in the way of logical distinctions so often barren of any fruit of knowledge. The question is not about the metaphysical possibilities of nature, but our actual experience of its informing power. We can start with admitting and welcoming all that is best in the doctrines of philosophy and the raptures of poetry, as to the admirable make of the world and the charms of all its fair and beautiful scenes. But having gazed with ecstasy upon the creation, and studied it with delight, we cannot let our enjoyment of it go into worship. Our anthem of praise, unchecked by the Persian limit, must rise above the sun and stars. Indeed, it would seem enough to settle this whole question, that the supernatural view alone encourages us to bring our requests and petitions to a higher Being, while the pure natural view, as both reason and fact testify, dissuades from and leads to the disuse of prayer. Let this doctrine have free course to work out its legitimate consequences, till it should be understood among the children of men that, in their pains and griefs, in the chambers of their sick and dying, over the sepulchres of their dead, and out of the weakness, as of dust and ashes, in their own hearts, they were forbidden to bring any supplications to the Most High, — that the very notion of an address to or answer from him is absurd, as implying an interference with general laws, — and what misery, desperation, and loathing of life would such a conviction spread among mankind! What destruction of material good, what scantiness of the harvest, or drying up of the springs of outward comfort, could so afflict and lay waste the earth as this universal conviction that we could not call upon God?

The question is not whether Nature can do much for us, but whether she can do all. And this question is amenable for its decision, not to abstract argument, but

to human testimony and experience. For ourselves, claiming as much as the average endowment of sensibility to all external grandeur and grace, feeling as much as others the heart run over with strange joy at the touch of all that is pleasant in color and proportion, we yet bear witness, that the nearer in the brooding of our thoughts we have drawn to the core and essence of Nature, the more we have felt the need of revelation to supply her defects. Nature for our guide! She cannot guide us through her own intricacies, much less to the heavenly country. We are lost in the labyrinth of her motions, like travellers in the depth of her mazy woods. She leads into dim abysses, through dark passages and among thorns! As we have wandered, ignorant of the path, with failing powers, faint and fearful, no ray marking out our course, we have felt the only recourse was above nature to God, and in this outward perplexity have found the token that nature does not shed light enough upon the soul. We have looked at those motionless granite masses, the puzzle of the geologist, strewn in some regions far and wide, and they have lured on our mind, referring and referring to distant and ever more distant things in space and time, in the bosom of the earth and along the course of unimaginable æons of duration, till baffled, like the bird with wings broken against the far-pursuing tempest, we have gladly come back to the rest of faith and the refuge of God's word. We have stood by the sea, trembling at the infinity signified by its fathomless depths and the vast bending of its surface into the boundless ether, till, like the sailors of Columbus, weary of its blank, endless outstretching, we have rejoiced that, beside its mystic suggestions, we could hear distinct accents of truth and mercy, as from one standing near us, from a Saviour's lips. We have looked out in the darkness when the storm was up and the gale wrestled sore with the boughs of the trees, and the surf roared with a hollow and devouring sound upon the craggy shore, — and then have thought of the tempest-driven sailor struggling against the powers of destruction in their fierce march and unchained, inexorable rage, till we have taken up the exclamation, forced even from the somewhat transcendental poet, Tennyson, —

"What am I?
An infant crying in the night:
An infant crying for the light:
And with no language but a cry!"

We have climbed over the ridges of lofty mountains, and walked at the edge of their precipices, till from the immense and appalling valleys below our soul has shrunk back gratefully into invisible but paternal arms. We have felt at such times, that, if our wish were to make a study of Christian evidences and of the worth of our religion, we could in no wise do it better than by exploring the heights and recesses of this outward world, and observing in nature and our mind, in their closest embrace together, the need of such a religion as God has vouchsafed.

Presuming upon some response in our readers to our own sentiment, we will venture to add one more to these actual illustrations, which, in our thinking, bear more upon the case than do the formulas of the schools. One day, in our journey over a road we had chosen apart from the ordinary tracks of travel, but passing through the most attractive scenes of natural magnificence, we came to the site of a deserted village. Other occupations or more fertile lands had called off the generation of those who had once dwelt there. Only a rare vehicle or a solitary foot passed by. The warm noonday shone, as we moved on, with a somewhat melancholy brilliance. The rock-bound hills stood up still, their bald heads peering out of the greenness that clothed their sides. Broad lakes sent bright gleams from their unruffled waters, and the distant horizon girded all into its magic ring of matchless beauty. We glanced from point to point, under the potent spell of all that mysterious fascination, which holds our feeling to the exquisite shapes and gorgeous array of that dust, out of which we were at first taken, and with which we seem to be thus claiming kindred. Nature made as perfectly as ever her sweet sad melody upon the responsive chords of the heart. As we advanced through the centre of this deceased population and once clustering society of men, our eye fell on an ancient, mouldering house of God, with its bordering churchyard filled with graves. That lonely spot, — strange as it may seem to say it, — that spot of ruin and decay, at once enlivened and irradiated the whole surrounding

scene. That image of desolation and death was the most affecting object in the circle of observation. From out the rotting timbers of the sanctuary, from off the faith-inscribed Christian head-stones behind, came a good cheer greater than from all the verdure and blossoms of the landscape. Yea, those sinking walls, and the little hillocks made by the dust of mortality, had an eloquence more inspiring than that of the brooks flowing down with their voice and motion through the vales; and the wind that breathed through the broken panes of those windows, and went on to wave the grass round that sculptured religious marble, spoke plainer than mountain and meadow of God's manifestation to man of his purposes to his children, and of their immortal destiny, when the heavens and earth should be no more.

If any thing of such feeling be attributed to the mood of an hour, we must say that we soberly and habitually own a deeper motion and joy of heart in standing amid the associations within the walls of a Christian temple, than from all the sublimities that stir us in any of the kingdoms of matter, from the lower deeps to the stars. For what do such walls contain? Symbols of more than has ever been signified to the soul of man by the whole material creation; beams of light shining over them more gladdening than that of the dawn; fountains of comfort more refreshing than the cooling springs of the valleys among the hills; and a music of praise from thousands of worshippers in them, living and departed, a harmony sweeter than all the sounds beside of the universe. In the thronged city or wilderness, the gate of the temple is the nearest visible opening to the Everlasting.

Nature herself is a very different thing to us according as we look with a heathen or a Christian eye. To the vision Christ has anointed, she undergoes a transfiguration. She no longer affrights, or so much bewilders. Her awful heights and depths lose their gloom. The love of the Creator assured to us in the Gospel gives a pleasantness to her features that never flowed over them from the light of the sun. Her true glories are shown, not by his rising and setting, but by the day-spring from on high, in which, as we survey each high or lowly thing, we can say, — "My Father made them all!" Thank God for the natural world, the material of our present

existence, the place of our abode, the natural beginning and basis of all we can know and feel and enjoy. But thank God unspeakably that he has not left us to Nature, with all she can produce from herself or unfold in our own being. Thank him for a promise we cannot draw clearly from her, that she is not to reclaim and dissolve us in her own lifeless and unfeeling breast, but that, having given to us a spiritual susceptibility, he has opened to us a supernatural source of light and comfort in his Word and his Son.

In the next place, we find no proof that Christianity, or any thing like a perfect system of religion, while not the fruit of nature, has ever been produced by human reason, or from any source save the Divine inspiration. The human mind alone has not discovered one of the fundamental religious truths, — either the unity of God, the perfect love of God, the forgiveness of sins, or the immortality of the soul. As we have here no room for a wide investigation, we limit ourselves to a single point, regarding the condition of those departed from us. When "dust to dust" has been said over their bodies, whither are fled the spirits that so lately animated the "earth and ashes"? This question touches the mind of man in its most sensitive part. We lead this outward, social life. But what a vain shadow it seems as our companions in it vanish, and we ask, with a solicitude beyond that of any other inquiry, — What is there of them yet in that sphere without sight or sound for us? Within, beneath, above, beyond this sensible existence, what form of being or essence of reality to answer our longing desire? Who has not been curious to know this? Some, indeed, indisposed to make a noise of their doubt or anxiety, have quietly resolved to dismiss the matter altogether, as what they cannot understand or settle, and, so far as death and sorrow will allow, would not be troubled by. Others have concluded, There is nothing after this life, all rots in the grave, and the only wisdom is to enjoy as much as we may before the inevitable hour. How shall we know? The history of the world proves the declaration of Scripture, that satisfaction here comes not within the scope of the eye or ear or heart of man, but by revelation of the spirit of God.

Human reason has handled the question, adducing

deep arguments and probable conclusions, but, beyond earthly logic and philosophy, the convincing proof must come from Divine inspiration. As we may peruse the countenance of a man without penetrating into his bosom, so we may scan the features of Deity, as they appear in these material works, or gleam upon our inward vision, without fathoming his purposes. We cannot dig a channel to them through the creation, or drill a finer passage through our own being, or, like an inquisitive child from a weak father, draw out from God what he would not communicate. There is no such thing as wresting from him his intentions, — as storming the citadel and taking the treasury of his truth; but he must open the way to us, himself find us, and beam upon us with his own celestial light. This is no arbitrary assumption, but a clear conclusion from the workings of the human mind in so many vagrant directions, on the problems of its origin and destiny. What is the answer of human reason to our solemn query about the unseen world? We refer to human reason, not in some rare or imaginary perfection, but acting in the minds of men, struggling with inclination, eclipsed by sin, and speaking through the clamor of the passions. How vague, various, and insufficient her replies! Nay, from minds where she has sat most serene, and discoursed in her calmest voice, what unsatisfactory responses about many gods, or hostile gods, or no personal god, but the whole universe deity, according to the ancient maxim, "Jupiter is whatever you see"! While annihilation, absorption into the Divinity, a sensual paradise, or a dim-lighted abode in the under-world, has been the doom the soul has gone to, under this uncertain or jarring spiritual reign.

But what now is the reply of inspiration, of the great spirit itself, to the momentous inquiry about the unseen beyond? That there is one God, of whom we are the offspring, and a heaven, a blessed state, a great society of the pure and good, with knowledge there that has increased for ages, and virtue growing immeasurably; angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim; spirits of just men recovered from their dissolving frames; a home for the faithful, which the violent cannot enter to disturb or the impure to defile. Inspiration, it is true, does not give us minute accounts of that upper world, but only

great characteristics of what is beyond, as it also draws in broad strokes the chart of our corresponding course and duty. But these few main descriptions, though leaving much still dark, suffice for us, and are all that is best for us. As the seaman needs not for his guidance that the whole coast by which he sails should be illuminated, but that steady lights should blaze out from the headlands over the sea, so the grand revelations and precepts of the Gospel sufficiently mark the track to our immortal haven, over the broad ocean of this ignorant human life.

Philosophic skeptics, we know, assert that the Gospel of Christ is partial and restrictive, and that in their own reason they have greater freedom and extent of thought. And so they would have were they acquainted with the universe, and could go where they choose, through all the realms of truth and reality. But being here strangers in a strange land, as little children who cannot go far in any direction without being lost, fixed points of revealed truth, so far from contracting, enlarge our freedom of thought, just as he who goes abroad can with safety extend his walk when he has certain well-known landmarks, as the house and the hill, to fix his eye and guide his steps.

But we need no subtile argument to teach us our debt to God for the light of his inspiration. Take an actual case of some settlement (and such there are not very far away) which that light has but faintly touched, and you may see what human reason alone can do for the world's guidance and consolation. In such a settlement the thoughts of men are slow on all subjects relating to that invisible state. Blankness and mystery shut it out, and petty, earthly concerns occupy them. One day with its cares and reflections is to them like another day. No sound from the belfry, as though it caught and were echoing glad tidings from above, calls their attention from trivial engagements heavenward. While mortal life moves on, bodily subsistence and earthly gain absorb their solicitude; what can be gathered from the earth, or drawn from the sea, fills their mind, and busies their hands; and when death comes, it is with no transfiguration as a celestial messenger, but gloomily to close the scene, and build up his monument, not for the entrance-way into a glorious sphere farther on, but

as the rocky boundary beyond which human life cannot pass. Not cheerful faith and ardent hope, as in a Christian community, but blank and dreary looks, as they converse of the dead, on their faces will you see, and mark the sad furrows which the dubious groping of their faculties has drawn in their faded cheeks. Or, should there happen to be in such a society some person of extraordinary natural power, he will probably answer your religious plea as such a person once answered ours upon the reality of an invisible, heavenly world. Looking up from the open field in which we stood together, and gazing slowly round upon the rocks, and woods, and clouds, the man of nature and reason, but no Divine inspiration, responded, "You talk of this, but no one ever got to it yet!" Truly, as men are, and as reason operates in them, how needful the inspiration and word of God!

It is often assumed that reason as an inward prop is better and firmer than the Christian believer finds in literal records and an outward authority. But these records and this authority are but the means and instruments, not the essence and foundation, of the Christian's faith. *That* is the spirit of God. So far from being the temporary, uncertain, accidental thing unbelievers imagine, it is still deeper within than all the understanding of man; more central and vital in its operations than any processes of the logical or philosophical faculty. The Christian's life and trust, as we have not yet sufficiently understood or realized, are not in human deductions, but from Divine inspirations. When, for example, in his affliction and humility, he comes near to his Master, "the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," it is no cold lesson, no arbitrary command, he gets from his lips; but his heart burns as he walks in his company, and out of the divinity of Christ's patience and holy joy, from far beneath the reach of his will and thinking, an inspiration steals in silently to dilate his bosom with peace and hope. Or, when he reflects on those gone, dear to him as his kindred, dearer still as lowly disciples of the same Lord, and the memory comes back of that excellence by which they were kindred with Jesus, and true children of God, the same Divine inspiration, again breathing through some hidden organ of his mind, whispers louder than any

spoken voice, telling him of their safe and blessed progress yet. When he comes into that communion with the Father to which the Son brings him, he knows he is in a state profounder and more exalted than any speculations of his own can compass; and as the harmonies of better worlds swell upon his soul, and the visions arise of what that Father prepares and will do for those that love him, he needs no earthly assurance, he is troubled by no human doubt, that these are not vagaries, but inspirations from above.

It is not enough that we intellectually believe in Christianity, that we historically accept it; we must be thus inspired by it, or, through it, by that which gave it birth. We must be joined with Christ and his Apostles in that spirit, measureless in him and so plentiful in them, till we move with that *first* influence which would seem our inordinate claim, were it not their imperative call. It is no general inspiration that we are to receive, — not a vague impulse, which might more readily happen to be the spirit of the age, or the genius of earthly civilization, than the spirit of heaven, — but it is the inspiration that comes from Christ, flows through his body, is manifest from whatever caught and contained his Divine truth and temper in the world, and clings round all the associations and ordinances of his religion. To the question, then, Where are the departed? While we thankfully accept any arguments, suggestions, analogies, man's reason can find or fancy invent, we will above all listen to the Spirit of God speaking through his Son, and through the human heart, saying, as in the ancient prayers of the Church, that "the spirits of those who depart hence in the Lord" "do live" with him "Almighty," and that "the souls of the faithful, delivered from the burthen of the flesh, are in joy and felicity."

We now approach a topic which has of late years been more warmly canvassed than any other pertaining to the truth and integrity of our religion. We mean that we have indicated as the question of law and miracle. We know not to what it may be owing that the free-thinking of our time has been so peculiarly tender and indignant on this point, unless it be from an excessive cultivation, in some quarters, of the mere intellectual nature. There seems to be among us a determination of

blood to the head. Many appear to be resolved on unlimited knowledge. They would see, and see through, every thing. And, as a miracle refuses to be seen through or explained, they reject it; though they seem at the same time almost ready, with a sort of Egyptian idolatry, to worship a fossil bone and find a fetich in the scale of a fish. All the writers, whose efforts we have noticed, seem to consider the very notion and offer of a miraculous fact as an insult to the human understanding. Mr. Mackay is especially decided in his ground. He has gone so far as to denounce the belief in miracle as "uninstructive," — "worse than useless," — "immoral," — "blasphemous," — a representation of the "Divine power" as "disorganizing itself." If all this be true, then the blindest of leaders, the most immoral of men, and greatest of all blasphemers, was Jesus Christ.

But why should we come to such a conclusion? Is there this fundamental, previous, decisive objection to the Christian history? Are what we style the laws of nature so sacred, that it is not imaginable they can, for any purpose or by any power, be cancelled and overcome? Are *they* eternal, or ordained by what *is* eternal. It is the more desirable to get some satisfaction, if we can, in this inquiry, because the tone with which this infidel doctrine is expressed is that of the pride of superior knowledge. Only a vulgar and ignorant mind, it is assumed, can have credulity enough to accept a miracle. From taking the ground that there is not historical evidence enough for the Christian miracles, or that they are of no use, if ever they were performed, unbelievers have come to resist the very notion of them as absurd and impossible.

But is it an intellectual view to regard the visible phenomena of the creation as absolute and inflexible? Or, considering human weakness and ignorance, is not the pretension of an inviolable stability in nature low and narrow, — in fact, as preposterous as would be the conceit of a brood of swallows that no earthquake could come to touch the nests they had bored in the sand? It is said, miracle is an inferior and unworthy mode of operation, because it is an appeal to the senses. But is it any more an appeal to the senses than the very course from which it deviates? Is it an appeal *to* the senses at all, or *through* the senses to the soul, awakening that to perceive the

power to whose ordinary manifestations it had become blind. Miracle asks not for the meanest, but the highest, perception of the mind. As we gaze first upon the world, we mark only the shape and color and motion of the scene, so wondrously smoothed and painted and drawn before us. As we look deeper, the outward pageant disappears, and we trace the laws by which all is made and guided. Penetrating farther still, the laws themselves vanish, and we discover, beneath, the great Original who fits or changes them, turning them in his fingers, as a workman does his tools. The denier of miracle, taking only the first and second of these steps, uses but a gross vision, and remains in a half-educated state. A very poor and crude philosophy indeed it is, that can stop short of that independent liberty and free agency of the Most High, which established the order amid which we live, but never was pledged or chained to keep to this one unalterable line. It is but the figment of a human brain that God, the Spirit and Father of spirits, is so committed, or has woven about himself a net-work through which he cannot break.

Yet it is not strange that this idolatry of natural law should have arisen in our time. Year after year, and age after age, law, a uniform way of procedure in the material world, has been observed more and more profoundly and minutely, till it is now seen weaving its bands fine enough to hold the wind and vapor, and stretching them far enough to go round the comet and star, running beneath light and heat and electricity, to cast their parts in the drama of nature, — putting its hand at once to polish the crystal and steady the pole, making the smallest invisible atoms play, in like manner, with the mighty globes of the sky, and extending its grasp till it yokes in all the elements to draw on its triumphal car. Beautiful and sublime indeed is law! But it is not the profundity and very centre of the world. There is something yet deeper and greater. There is no reason why we should worship it. It is but a servant, blind without the eye of God, used as long as he will, and dismissed at his pleasure, according as he chooses to do habitual or solitary acts. Our homage is due, not to the necessary, powerless, thoughtless agent, but to Him, the free and the good, who *arranges* his volitions, or sends them out in lonely

grandeur to the end of his works. When, too, we look beyond this present point of space and time, how foolish and unwarrantable a foreclosing of his purposes and limitation of his resources is it to think the present style of his agency with us boundless and for ever unchangeable!

There must be order and law around us that our education may begin. But what is order or law, but a schoolmaster to train us up to a state of insight and action more spontaneous and direct than we have experienced, in which the outward world shall bend everywhere to the wishes and affections of the soul? We live under a provisional government, indispensable now, but leading on to a rule whose measures we cannot conceive, but which will make that unbelief in miracle some count the sign of mental superiority appear too feeble for the notice of scorn. What, verily, do such persons expect, when this wonted order, with their existence in it, shall end? If, on their translation to another state of being, they see not all things going on as usual, nor the greater and lesser lights of our hemisphere duly rising and setting, with every familiar change of earthly seasons fulfilled, how they must, in consistency, protest against such departure from law as absurd and impossible! In truth, by what natural law, that we can understand, shall that translation be? After what is so incomprehensible to us as death and immortality, why should we be surprised to see the arrangements and details of the system so familiar superseded by higher dispensations of the primeval, unsearchable wisdom, — this rigid, iron method peeling off and laying open new depths of power and goodness? Nor let any one object that thus much of our present information will no longer serve us; — for the mind's true life is not a heap of facts in the memory, but fresh increase of original energy by an ever new unfolding of the riches of God in his creation. Moreover, the highest dignity of man is not to be an intellectually and exactly knowing creature, but a wondering, worshipping, and loving one; and the adaptations to stimulate and develop this part of his nature are as legitimate and lofty as those which give clear and definite conceptions.

The rejection of miracle, on which we have remarked, seems to arise from a disposition to exalt positive knowledge. It is a revolt and insurrection of natural science

against religion. But what is religion but the best knowledge and purest science of all, taking in miracle, the supernatural, as the most welcome and useful of its facts? Such has been the science of the greatest minds. The divine poet, Milton, blind, yet having a sight no natural philosopher could venture to deride, found nothing to stumble at in the miraculous, when he spoke of his departed friend as

> "Mounted high
> Through the dear might of Him that walked the waves."

What is it but the token of a weak and unspiritual, not of a strong and exalted mind, to be imposed upon and borne down by the mere massive weight and regular movement of the material world, as though that were all or final? Some have objected to Christianity altogether, and to the rank ascribed to Christ, on account of the largeness of the universe, and the difficulty of supposing that such a display from God was made on the narrow theatre of this earth; — as though a great deal of space were of more account than a little virtue, or there were more glory in a wheeling galaxy than in a heavenly excellence! It is time to understand, that there is in Christ a better revelation of God than in any amount or disposition of matter. Before his light the sun goes out as a candle; nor shall that pale lustre of the Milky-way, composed of a million stars, that stretches athwart the heavens, be any thing more than a symbol of the beauty of his human mildness and Divine meekness. Nay, we can understand how a God *out* of Christ, a God away from all connection with or manifestation through a human form, should have seemed to the spiritual and most discerning genius of that excellent Christian, Cecil, even dreadful. For the Divine Being, in its simply external aspect, is a great gulf and horrible abyss to swallow us up; and without miracle, or the idea of it, the mass of men would undoubtedly have sunk into helpless materialism and atheism.

The wanderings of the human mind are proof that nature would never have taught all that miracle does to either the ignorant or the wise of our race. While the solecism that God can speak only through a monotonous order of events becomes monstrous, when the object of an extraordinary communication is not only to show his per-

sonal presence, but to purify mankind, to save them from sin and remorse, and, by a supernatural arm, to reveal, not an unfeeling fate, but an infinite will, an immense personality, a holy and forgiving Father. They who trust to nature and to the development of their own minds alone may have a kind of religion, but it is a religion that can exist equally well without as with the belief in a God. But instinct itself in the soul exclaims against them. *Nature* in the human breast, feeble, erring, transgressing, cries out for the supernatural, and this demand of humanity darkling in sorrow and compunction is a greater argument for the supernatural than any ingenious, speculative thinker's reasoning against it. Beautiful and admirable is this outward law; but law cannot love me, as does the Power that Christ has manifested. With him, in spirit, as he heals the sick, and raises the dead, we do not coolly question and analyze, but, feeling this is the testimony and spirit that we need, yield ourselves in cordial trust, taking our own feebleness and inability to find out, each one for himself, a religion in the vast, bewildering world, as a reason why the Merciful One should come to us so wonderfully. Debtors to Christianity from our infancy, we are not now going to disown it, least of all for that which is its very pillar and claim. Not that we rest in the miracle for itself as an amazing fact, that we "may marvel," but we see in it the gate of heaven unfolding to let down upon us the flood of heavenly grace. Why should not our hearts open to receive it, for sanctity, for peace, for hope?

We conclude that the powers of nature, reason, and law can neither satisfy the wants of man, nor account for the facts of our religion, without revelation, inspiration, and miracle. Our whole treatment of the subject has convinced us, as it may have our readers, that the question whether Christianity is a human development or a Divine manifestation is impossible to be entertained. It is an insult equally great to the Gospel and to human nature to propose it. For the Gospel claims a Divine origin and superhuman descent, and if it be the work of man, man must have mixed an alloy of the most astounding falsehood in this composition of what is most precious in the world. What is essential to our faith, and inextricable from it without its destruction, must be

removed, before the favorite modern skeptical theory respecting it can be understood or have a hearing. In the attempt to cut away what in it is thought accidental, the knife must go too deep for its *existence* in order to find the preliminary condition of ascertaining its *quality!* When Christianity presents herself for examination, the first thing is to give her the lie!

Mr. Mackay's view of all religion as a "Progress of the Intellect," at once confounds every just idea of religion, contradicts the character of the Christian system, and comes into collision with the plainest admitted circumstances of the case. How has this "Progress of the Intellect" been illustrated for the last eighteen hundred years? What more perfect truth in relation to God, the soul, and immortality, has been developed since the teachings of Jesus Christ? What personage of loftier wisdom, purer excellence, and more divine spirituality than he exhibited, has appeared? Where is the last and most intellectual expression of theological doctrine or seraphic piety, which is to supersede all that has gone before? Is it Mr. Mackay's own book? Does he not know that will melt away and vanish like the thin frost of an autumnal morning, while the miraculous record holds still its aged, but never enfeebled, grasp upon the faith of men? Yea, — what is all this skeptical literature but as the grass which groweth up in the morning, and in the evening is cut down and withered, compared with the immortal substance and flourishing of that Word of Christ, which, though heaven and earth pass away, will not pass away.

We go back, then, from those regions of speculation, through which we have been passing, which are no part of the Gospel or of religion, to the simple understanding of Christianity, not as the attainment of men, but the gift of God. We gladly exchange the paths of solitary research for the communion of Christ's followers. We willingly part with the absolute privacy of a mind trusting only its own exclusive judgments, for the united faith and sympathy of the Church. We would put off the conclusions of our own ingenuity, with the devices and desires of our own hearts, for the sacred tradition which has put its arms of blessing round millions of our kind, among which millions are the best and wisest of past ages and the present time. Reason has her rights, and

we would not evade her test of any thing we believe or do. But we would not be for ever going through her processes of doubt and inquiry about things which pertain to the very life and confidence and rest of the soul. We would not be ever putting our gold into the furnace out of which it has so repeatedly come pure. Passing beyond the ordeal of mere argument, we would live that life of our Lord, which, to all possessing it, is the most persuasive and incontrovertible evidence of his claim. From all later discoveries we go back to him. Nay, he is not behind, but yet in advance of us all. Nothing in the world has overtaken him. We would go forward, trying to keep him in sight, aspiring after his likeness. To our faith he is no mere historic being, but actually, as he promised, with his Church alway, even unto the end of the world. While feeling his real presence, and regarding his supper as no empty figure of speech, not a meeting which only one of the parties observes, but a true intercourse, we look on with mysterious expectation to that more manifest union, from which all earthly doubts and uncertainties will be seen passing off, as the mists and vapors of night roll away in the distance from the widening splendor of the sun. C. A. B.

Art. II. — THE MOTIVE OF VIRTUE.

There is a fallacy quite extensively involved in the current education of the day, which seems to attract less attention than its importance demands; — we mean, the assumption that it is possible to reap where one has not sown. It appears in two principal forms; — the first, in which it is assumed that the show of virtue can secure the true rewards of virtue itself, and the second, where real integrity and elevation of character are supposed to command such goods of this world as are, in fact, obtained by means more akin to these ends.

Strange as it may appear, it is not easy to decide which of these errors actually produces the greatest amount of ultimate practical evil in the characters of

young people, who find them, not only protruding at various points in the groundwork of their education, but sometimes brought into prominent notice. Strange, we say, it seems, at first glance, that perhaps as much harm is done by teaching the young that the possession of real excellence is the best means of securing the prizes of the world most sought after, — such as wealth, reputation, power, &c., — as by the doctrine that a pretence and appearance of virtue will command the most valuable reward of virtue itself. Nevertheless, such we fear is the fact, as the two doctrines are usually presented to the young; for while the latter is seldom brought forward in its naked ugliness to ingenuous minds, and is repelled by all such when distinctly perceived, the former is often openly taught, and meets with ready acceptance on the part of the very class of minds which would reject the baser, though hardly less erroneous, theory. And yet both tend practically to the same result, — that of making the child look upon virtue and its counterfeit as *means to an end, and that end a worldly one.*

The doctrine, that the appearance will answer in place of the reality, is perhaps rarely inculcated openly, but it is indirectly taught in many of the forms and observances which come under the head of minor morals. Mere show, and what is understood to be such, both by master and scholar, parent and child, is constantly accepted as meeting the whole demand, and of course the influence upon the pupil cannot be otherwise than injurious. Its first effect is rather to lower the child's opinion of the world, and of the moral standard of his elders, than to change his own; but from this soon flows a train of evil consequences to himself, which are very evident, but which it is not our present purpose to discuss. On the other hand, it is quite a favorite practice with many teachers, to hold up to the minds of children the example of some one who has met with great worldly success as an evidence of the *advantages* of virtue; always assuming, directly, that virtue has brought about this success, which is rarely true, and indirectly, that such success is the appropriate and true reward of virtue, which is never true. We do not mean to deny that certain qualities, which are commonly and justly considered virtuous, tend to secure to their possessors

wealth, fame, and power. For example, industry, economy, and frugality are virtues tending to produce wealth; courage, prudence, and energy are virtues leading to power and renown; but love and meekness are virtues too, and higher ones, and they call upon us constantly, in gentle but commanding tones, to forego the wealth and the power which might be acquired by industry, economy, and courage, when severed from their alliance with those diviner qualities. Now the worldly prosperity pointed out to the eager and credulous youth, as the reward of virtue, is too often the result, not only of the severance of this holy alliance, but of a new and unholy one between energy, industry, economy, and selfishness. If we leave out of view the differences in intellectual ability, and their results, *this* moral combination commands what is called success more surely and more completely than any other, and for various sufficient reasons, the best of which is, that mankind readily perceives, and is favorably impressed, by the courage and the industry, without so surely discovering the lurking selfishness, which directs their action. But a virtue truly attempered, in which lowliness *must* play so prominent a part, can but seldom be followed by like results.

Now and then, the purest and humblest man, when possessed of an uncommon intellect, or placed by Providence in a commanding position, may make his virtue felt and admired through a wide circle during his lifetime, and may rise to the greatest eminence among his fellow-men *by means of it.* Such cases, however, are necessarily rare, and even when they do occur, they form no exception to the rule we have stated. The power and fame of such men may be the consequences, principally, of their intrinsic excellence, but surely they are never its reward.

There is frequently taught, it is true, quite a different doctrine from the one we object to, which asserts that virtue does *not* meet its reward in this world, and that long-suffering here is required to fit us for a reward to come in a future life. This doctrine is not often especially addressed to the young, and from them it meets with but little attention when they chance to hear it. It is accepted as a consolation by those whom the world has dealt hardly with, but is supposed to be too disheartening a view to press upon youthful and ardent minds, or even,

it would seem, to be allowed to pass without something in the way of antidote, and hence the frequent direct teaching, and constant assumption, that virtue does generally meet its reward *in worldly honors and power.*

It is doubtless rather a disheartening doctrine, that we must sacrifice this life to obtain a reward in another, but the poison in the antidote employed is worse than any which may lurk in the doctrine itself. Both, indeed, have the same fundamental taint, — the supposition that virtue is a sacrifice which requires a reward out of itself. The one doctrine places the reward in another world, it being considered unattainable here, and perseverance in suffering is enjoined in order not to forfeit it. The other boldly maintains that the reward can be secured on the spot; but it holds up a false and low one, which is not within the control of virtue, and is destructive of virtue if once adopted and looked to as an end. There could be but little difficulty, if reduced to that necessity, in choosing between these two doctrines; for although the one which places the whole reward of virtue in another world may be disheartening, it at least has the merit of fixing the minds of its followers upon a true, inward virtue, as the one which can alone secure the heavenly reward. It does not, like the theory which holds up sensual and temporal gratifications as the reward of growth in spiritual and eternal qualities, tend practically to degrade the view taken of those qualities, and thus to introduce mere appearances in the place of realities. In this tendency lies the difficulty which we wish to expose, which is, that, when we teach the young that by sowing a spiritual seed they can reap a temporal reward, we are in danger of producing the same result as if we should teach them that by sowing a temporal seed they can secure a spiritual return. In each case they would be taught that they can reap where they have not sown, which is false in principle; and in each case the selfish excitements proposed to them, either as an end or as a means, must tend to fill the mind, when once introduced as a proper object of effort. The only practical difference then left would be, that, in the one case, the proposed means (an elevated virtue) not being found to secure the proposed end (wealth and power), would be gradually modified with a view to its assumed end; while in the

other case, the means proposed, of activity and energy in worldly matters, would be steadily pursued, and be found out, only too late, to be unable to secure the spiritual end.

Let us elucidate our meaning by an example. A child when quite young is capable already of two kinds of excitement and pleasure, — those of the body, and those of the affections. When the parent wishes to reward it for being good, he can do so either by giving it a sugar-plum, and thus gratifying its appetite, or by giving it marks, which it well understands, of love and approbation; and as one or the other of these courses is adopted, an early habit is formed of looking for the right or the wrong kind of reward. As the child grows older, the sugar is offered in a greater variety of forms, but still as a reward for the exercise of qualities which have no natural relation to it. The means of gratifying the senses, or the frivolous passions, are constantly proposed by the most conscientious parents, as a reward for growth in charity, honesty, love, and other virtues, which deserve and reap a better one; and thus the early habit of looking for a result which does not naturally flow from these virtues is confirmed, and a sure disappointment and sore trial prepared for the child in after life; and, what is worse, the moral sense is thus deadened, instead of being quickened, from the very cradle upwards.

Perhaps the most objectionable form in which this practice appears is in giving *money* to children for doing what common good feeling or a sense of duty should prompt them to do; and yet it is by no means unusual among us for parents to use this kind of bribery with their children, without being aware of its evil tendency. It may be a very good thing to allow young children to earn money, now and then, by exercising those faculties and virtues which tend naturally to secure it, — such as industry, perseverance, ingenuity, and the like. Let a boy work and be paid for it; but let the work be such as he is not already bound to perform *by a higher motive than the one you offer him.* Let him learn betimes the difficulty of getting money by honest labor, whether of the head or the hands, and the consequent importance of economizing it; but let us be careful not to mislead him into the notion that virtue can be bought

and paid for, and that kindness, truth, and obedience attract silver, somewhat as the magnet does iron. This, however, is the necessary tendency of the practice we refer to. When a child is paid money by its parent for doing any common act of duty, the two false and injurious impressions before noticed are made upon its mind; — first, that it is the rule of the world that those who do their duty shall be *thus* rewarded; and secondly, that such is the natural and just reward for doing one's duty. This idea once fixed, it follows, that those who do not receive money or its equivalent for doing right are debarred from their just dues; and from this again consequences the most fatal to all morality are soon drawn. Thus, practically, as well as theoretically, the child is taught to expect and seek for what he cannot find, and to overlook and disregard the inestimable treasures which lie along his path.

Although few can rise to manhood, under such treatment, without having their moral standard lowered, let us, for the sake of illustration, suppose the case of a young man, in whom the moral sense has been planted so deep, by the hand of his Maker, that it has not been materially affected by the false teachings to which he has been subjected. Let us suppose him poor, perhaps with dependent relatives, and launched into the world to make his way as a merchant, a lawyer, or a physician, in competition with a crowd of keen, unscrupulous, and successful men, — successful in the way in which he has been taught that he must succeed, and can succeed, by the practice of virtue. He naturally supposes all his prosperous competitors are influenced by the same feelings as himself, and is surprised to find that scrupulous honesty, benevolence, and delicacy of feeling, combined with industry and economy, are not paid high in his case as in theirs. After serving a longer or shorter apprenticeship to Mammon, in this bewildered state, he discovers the real terms of the indenture, and then comes a trial for which he *should* have had every preparation that education could have given him, but for which he actually has none. He has got to take to pieces and reconstruct his whole system of morals, as regards the questions at issue, and to do it under the greatest press of temptation to be unfaithful to his higher nature. If,

under these circumstances, he should prove unfaithful, and determine to adopt the means which he finds most sure to attain the end which has been held up to him as the true one, would not the fault be, in great measure, in his education? Had he been told fairly at the outset, that the exercise of the economical virtues would secure him an honest livelihood, but could not be counted on for any thing more; that the world generally pays highest those who sacrifice the most at her shrine; that true success does not consist in making the greatest possible show, either of words or deeds, in the eyes of our fellow-men, but in unfolding as rapidly and perfectly as possible the seeds of those qualities in our nature which we know to be fitted for a higher life; that, as these qualities are developed, they furnish constantly their own reward, and one which has no common measure with the prizes of the world; and finally, that these two kinds of success cannot be commanded by the same means, and are ever incompatible with each other if pursued as ends; — we say if all this had been clearly placed before him when young, he might at least have been spared the mockery of expecting results from the exercise of his higher nature which are the legitimate results of activity in his lower nature, and perhaps from the fatal error of erecting the lower into a temporary supremacy over the higher. Nothing, however, of all this was taught him by precept or example, but the reverse of it, and how could he escape, therefore, being either a timeserver, or a disappointed man? Here was his choice, and if he chose the former, surely those who placed him, unnecessarily, in this perilous situation are not without blame.

The case we have supposed is not an uncommon one among us, and the result is evidently produced by the fault in education of which we have been speaking. The youth who is in the habit of looking for an outward reward for obeying his conscience, and fostering his good impulses, will gradually cease to consult the inward monitor as the expected reward fails, which it surely must do as he enters into the business of life.

S. H. P.

Art. III. — REFORMS AND REFORMERS.*

We happened once to hear a discourse addressed to a liberal congregation, on the evils of excessive religious zeal, and, more especially, the mischief of too frequent meetings. The satisfaction which it gave us was very great, until this thought occurred to us: — Is this particular congregation in special danger of falling into these errors? We came to the conclusion, that their erroneous tendencies were in an entirely opposite direction. We have listened to or read with somewhat the same feelings, discourses — faithful as they were in their treatment of *that* branch of their subject — upon the faults, the extravagances, the bad spirit of reformers. We will not positively deny that a shade of similar sentiment has biased us in our treatment of the subject upon which we propose to speak. We shall not, of course, venture even a shade of apology for all that passes under the name of reform in these days. We have quite as great a horror of some of the schemes of self-styled reformers, and of the men themselves, as any of our readers can cherish. Still, in reading or otherwise tracing the history and progress of reforms and reformers, — (we wish we were not obliged to use these particular words, so fraught are they to the minds of reasonable men with unpleasant associations,) — it has seemed to us that, *to all having a legitimate claim to the title*, a few general principles are applicable. In the endeavour to point these out, we shall speak oftener of the recent past than of the actual present, rather of reformers off the stage than of those now upon it, — of what has happened at some short distance from us, than of what has occurred or is occurring in our immediate vicinity. We choose this method because we think our conclusions will be unaffected by the fact; and because, also, we wish, not only to avoid all remarks of a personal nature, but to base our argument on facts and estimates of character about which there is little diversity of opinion, — in a word, upon premises

* 1. *Christian Reformer.* (Periodical.) Charles Stearns, Editor. Boston: B. Marsh. 1850.

2. *Sketches of Reforms and Reformers of Great Britain.* By H. B. Stanton. New York. 1849. 12mo.

where there will be more of common ground for readers and writer, than if we raised mooted questions about local events and local personages. Though anxious to avoid another error into which those who discourse on reforms and reformers in these trying times very often fall, — the devotion of too much space to what is frequently a very unsuccessful labor, that of "defining their position," — we would remark that neither by express nor implied reference to the dead or the living would we for one moment intimate in the following pages that reformers have not many and great faults. Nay, notwithstanding all that has been so ably said and written on this fruitful theme by men wiser than we, we are not sure but that, owing to some peculiar advantages and associations we have enjoyed, we might earn the praise of having discovered one or two more great faults. The pleasant knowledge of them, however, we may here state, we mean to retain, as a something to fall back upon in future time, if conscience should ever reproach us for being too conservative. We apprehend, however, in all seriousness, that one person may see the faults of reformers quite as clearly as another does *who sees nothing else*, and yet — though perhaps his mental habits, his temperament, his tastes, "those stubborn things," may not admit of his going all lengths with those who are most enthusiastic — have a general hopefulness in respect to the result at which they aim, a general sympathy with their views and objects. He may not approve of all that is said and done by reformers, even though he feel there is great force in their plea, — Why don't you do wisely and in a good spirit what you complain that we do, or fail to do, unwisely and in a bad spirit? Why are we called upon thus sweepingly unreservedly to approve? Does the most ultra conservative indorse *all* that Sibthorpe says and does? Does he never smile, with that radical Punch, at the Colonel's occasional eccentricities? (not that he does not utter a great deal of good, sound, old-fashioned common-sense). To have even a kindly feeling towards reformers is supposed by many to be deliberate recommendation of every thing thought to bear their stamp; while, at the same time, no more frequent reproach is brought against them than that they cannot agree even with one another. There are very few enterprises or

sets of principles, though they may be valued highly, to which thoughtful men can give more than a general assent. This accorded, there is room for wide diversity of opinion in respect to details and measures and men.

If our readers had lived in the time of Luther, with their present views, their sympathies would almost inevitably have been with the Reformers. And yet who would venture to defend all that Carolstadt and Zwingle, and even Luther, said and did? Nor would the sincere respect they would have cherished, had they lived in the times of Charles the Second, for individuals of the Church party, nor the absolute repugnance that they would have felt for some of the Puritans, have prevented them from knowing to which set of principles they would then have given a general, yet earnest assent. Those who acted with Wilberforce did not all believe in his Calvinism. Clarkson's and Allen's Quaker views could not have been approved by all their followers. While, as respects matters of taste, we can easily conceive a disciple of Wesley's wishing that he, if for once only, would preach to those rough, unshorn, unshaven miners down in Cornwall a pungent rebuke from the text (in Jeremiah vii. 29), "Cut off thine hair, O Jerusalem." Many sympathize with reformers of modern, as well as of former times, not because they like certain peculiarities better than do their neighbours; but in spite of those peculiarities, and because of the right and truth that lie behind, — which they do not find in the opposite ranks, though they see there much which is truly estimable and attractive, and a great deal that is in perfectly good taste.

Having made these preliminary remarks, passing to our general subject, and following in part a train of thought already suggested, we would observe, in the first place, that no principle is of more universal application to reformers than this, — that none of them have come up to the ideal of what we may consider a perfect reformer. There are many persons who would not object to reforms, if so be reformers themselves were less free from fault. They cannot think of one whose course they will in all respects approve. We cannot but admit that the indiscretions, the bad spirit, the want of good judgment, which reformers have frequently shown, have stood very much in the way of the good they might oth-

erwise have effected. And yet we think one may expect too much, when he trusts to find what is near akin to perfection in any class of men, — especially when, as is often the case, they do a work which abler, if not wiser, men decline.

The ideas that many have of what a model reformer should be might be in the main thus expressed: — He must be bold and fearless, yet never say or do aught that shall seem incautious to the prudent or timid. He must call things by their right names; and yet in such gentle tones, as that those whose reputation and respectability depend on the old false names being retained shall not be wounded by an entire change in their moral vocabulary. He must speak in winning accents, — so winning, that men who have never acted from any motive save self-interest, shall gladly sacrifice it forthwith, at the shrine of disinterested philanthropy. Or else, he must appeal to none but the highest motives; but still, as a practical man, be able to show how sufferers for righteousness' sake shall make, after all, a handsome profit upon the speculation. To be sure, justice is the first great thing; but he must also remember, that there is nothing so desirable as peace and quiet. As the boy was told, "My son, get money, — honestly if you can, but get money," — so he is told, Let us have peace in our day, — at no sacrifice of justice if we can, — but still let us have peace. He must boldly strike at the root of the tree of wrong and error, but still he had better wait till it begins to rot and totter of itself, even though most see that, like the Upas, it poisons all around. "Wait, — be not precipitate. The times are not ripe for your movement." Woe to him, if, by the sound of his axe, he disturb staid respectability, taking his afternoon nap in the shade. He must have some of that fire, indeed, that enthusiasm, that intensity of feeling on one point, which gives power to make those appeals which awaken popular sentiment, and rouse to vigorous thought and action; — yet it is all over with him, if one interest seem more prominent in his mind than another. He must not fall into "that common error of reformers, namely, exaggeration." He must unite John and Peter, a Catholic leaning to the old, the venerable, the poetic, with a Protestant spirit of free inquiry, — though in the latter case far preferring

Melancthon and Beza to Luther. He must be something between Fénelon, relinquishing his heretic positions at the bidding of the Church, and François de Sales, stating those same obnoxious positions in such terms that his orthodoxy was never questioned. Avoiding Cobbet's coarse *demagogism* on the one hand, and Sibthorpe's Toryism on the other, — though not without strong sympathy for the thoroughly honest (so gentlemanly, too) conservatism of "the Duke," — he must imitate Sir Robert Peel's gracefully yielding just at the right time. He must mingle burning enthusiasm with mercantile sagacity; Sir Thomas More's perfectibility with Bentham's practicability. He must preach a crusade against wrong and misery, with something of the spirit of Peter the Hermit, and yet be a Joseph Hume in his forswearing of all rhetoric, and in his bringing every thing "to the test of utility and the multiplication-table."

One finds neither in ancient nor modern times — even though the work done is on the whole somewhat beneficial — any reformer, who comes up to the ideal of many of what he ought to be. They are all gone out of the way; they have all wandered from the straight and narrow path of perfection in the which it was their bounden duty to walk. And yet, we repeat, the work which many of them have done is on the whole somewhat beneficial.

Another obvious suggestion, from even a superficial acquaintance with the history of reforms and reformers, is the opposition and hostility they have met from wise and also good men. The Table Talk of a distinguished English essayist contains a chapter "On the Ignorance of Learned Men." It would require a longer chapter to give a bare catalogue of the errors into which good men have fallen, and for which they have conscientiously contended, thinking that they did God service. It was not a proud contempt for the opinions of others which dictated the prayer of Leighton, "Deliver me, O Lord, from the errors of wise men, yea, and of good men." The reasons why such men may be found frequently on the wrong side are obvious enough. Goodness does not always enlarge narrowness, nor prompt free inquiry, nor give a knowledge of the bearing of facts in a case. It does not make timid men brave, or, as they would say, rash and reckless. One may be a good man, yet, with

Erasmus, have no taste for martyrdom. Goodness, or piety, thinks differently at different periods. It seems strange to us that our Puritan fathers hung Quakers. Quite as strange would it seem to them, could they revisit the earth, to find us entering on the Sabbath so many different churches. Good men may escape great sins, yet not great mistakes. Their ignorance or weakness may work as much harm, to some around, as other men do by their bad passions and wicked deeds. Men may be conscientious in the views and stand they take in reference to important moral questions, but they none the less may suffer those questions to be decided by those who make no claim to conscientiousness, and who only ask of those who do neutrality and silence. Who shall say which have stood most in the way of human progress, good men or bad men? How many periods have there been when unscrupulous, God-defying conservatism, holding fast to the wrong, simply because it was pleasant or gainful, would have blushed and hung its head, if it had not been kept in good heart by a conscientious and God-fearing conservatism, — upholding the wrong because even its discussion would create a disturbance and breed difficulties? Very near the period at which Hopkins was preaching at Newport, the very stronghold of the slave-trade in America, earnest sermons against its flagrant iniquity, pious John Newton, the slave-trader, was writing home from the cabin of a slave-ship extracts from records "of sweet communion with his God." While Wesley was denouncing slavery in all its forms, pious Dr. Whitefield was engaged in introducing it, against the prohibition of the Trustees, into the State of Georgia.* He, too, wrote home letters, telling that he had purchased a plantation and some slaves, the profits to go to his orphan house at Bethesda, "God delivering me (in this way) out of my embarrassments." Paley was a good man. The penal code of England of his time among more than a hundred offences that were capital, enumerated these: — obstructing the service of a legal process; hunting in the night, disguised; pulling down gates or

* For proof that the State of Georgia is mainly indebted to George Whitefield for being a slave State, a fact which we believe has escaped thus far the knowledge of American Abolitionists, see Stephens's History of Georgia, Vol. I. chap. 9.

fences; destroying trees in parks; stealing from a dwelling-house above five shillings; robbing on the highway to the value of a farthing; stealing from a person property of more than twelve pence value. Down to the reign of William the Fourth, counsel were not allowed in capital cases to do more in behalf of an accused person than to state mere points of law to the court. Yet Paley speaks of "the mild and cautious system of penal jurisprudence established in this country." He did not stand alone in this opinion. Sir Samuel Romilly, in 1808, by great exertions, carried a bill repealing the law under which many persons, mere boys some of them, had been executed, which made stealing from the person to the value of twelve pence a capital offence. But when, during the following year, he proposed two bills abolishing hanging for stealing the value of above five shillings from a shop, and forty shillings from a dwelling-house, he was defeated by an overwhelming majority. "If Romilly had attacked the monarchy itself, he could not have produced more indignation." Lord Eldon, "of whom it has been said that he rejoiced in his conscientiousness as a special gift of Providence," was especially aggrieved by such attacks on what had commanded the admiration of the wise and good in all ages.

In the discussions which took place during Romilly's life, and subsequently, upon the expediency of doing away the death-penalty fo offences punished by our laws by a few days' imprisonment or a small fine, one finds the men of that day, most eminent for virtue and humanity, using, almost word for word, the same arguments against ameliorations in the penal code that are used by men of the same character against the abolition of capital punishment at the present day. Many a humane and benevolent individual did not like to see people, often children, put to death for stealing a mere trifle; but then, "Our property must not be left to the mercy of the evil-disposed." "The Lord Chancellor thought that small tradesmen would be ruined if shop-lifting to the value of five shillings ceased to be punishable with death."

The Roman Catholic penal code of England, not repealed till 1829, was well described by Burke as "a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, noted for its vicious perfection, and as admirably fitted for the oppression,

impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." Yet not only was poor King George the Third — a model of propriety and of all the homely virtues as he was — so scandalized at the idea of its abrogation, that he accused Mr. Pitt of driving him crazy by continually harping upon it, but even such men as Canning and Peel were opposed to any innovation. The church-going population of England were almost without exception against all change, or alleviation.

The Tories of England, in all their struggles against liberal measures, dwelt upon the point, that the opposite views were held by men of loose principles, disorganizers, irreligious men, and that theirs was the party of order, the religious, the church party. With what pious satisfaction must many a church-going, as well as church-upholding gentleman of the old school, have read the declaration of a holy alliance, drawn up by the Emperor Alexander, in behalf of himself and the emperors of Austria and Prussia, setting forth "their solemn purpose to take for their sole guide the precepts of the holy religion of our Saviour, namely, the precepts of justice, charity, and peace, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and remedying their imperfections!" It must have been a great gratification to the religious circles of England, when, on his visit there, the conqueror of Poland gained all hearts by his winning manners, his condescending grace, utterly giving the lie, for many minds, to the assertion, that he who appeared so kind and amiable in London could be harsh and cruel at home, — it must have been a great gratification to find that he was not only all this, but pious too. What a respect for religion! How unlike those French Jacobins, and their compeers, the English radicals!

The history of reform in England, whatever be the wrong or abuse against which it was directed, is very far from being a record of the opposition which it has encountered at the hands of bad men. The Tory party of Great Britain has not lacked men of exemplary virtue more than has the opposite party. When the body of Lord Castlereagh was taken from the hearse to be carried to its last resting-place, a shout of exultation from the

spectators over the "enemy of the people" rang through the Abbey. Yet he was amiable, winning, generous, in private life. He was one of a large class. Still, neither his nor their private virtues enabled them to see that reformers had reason and justice on their side, when they said that it was hardly fair that the uninhabited sand-hill of Old Sarum should send to Parliament as many representatives as Lancashire, with its million and a half of souls. Lord Eldon, always conscientious, could see *no* reason why Manchester and Birmingham and Leeds should be entitled to a representative. The representative of the piety of Oxford said, such projects meant not reform, but revolution.

This leads us naturally to another marked characteristic of Reform, namely, the alarm and the misgivings, the doubts and fears, which not only merely good men, but persons of intelligence, not unfrequently even of rather liberal tendencies, have always felt in reference to great reforms. "The horrors of the French Revolution,"—how many aspirations and hopes in the hearts of true well-wishers to the cause of liberty everywhere were quenched by a bare reference to these! How many, who, like Southey, and Coleridge, and Wordsworth, and Burdett,* began life as liberals, reformers, and closed them as bigoted conservatives, frightened by the excesses of reformers and their own forebodings!

Imagine an Englishman of refined tastes, with a horror of all exaggeration and cant, as well as of all coarseness and vulgarity; constitutionally mild, gentle, reflective; cautious, not so much from cowardice as from what he deems the teachings of an enlightened wisdom; rather distrustful, if not of men, at least of profession,—if not of all men in all respects, still of some whose only gifts seem to be enthusiasm, zeal, and a ready gift of utterance; not coveting such a reputation himself, especially among men whom, on the whole, saving their conservatism, he prefers to these, and by whom at any rate he cares not to be thought one devoid of common sense, benevolent and sincere undoubtedly, but weak and visionary;—imagine such a one, liberal though he be,

* Some years ago, in reply to a speech of Lord John Russell, Sir F. Burdett spoke of the cant of reform. Lord John electrified the House by retorting, with cutting emphasis, that there was such a thing as the recant of reform.

and keenly alive to all the injustice and mischief of Tory misrule, at some period of the struggle for reform in England. His tastes revolt at what some are pleased to style "the eloquence" of a Cobbett, just come from a meeting where, as Eldon remarked of another, there was hardly a decent-looking man to be seen, — exaggeration in the very atmosphere, — love of notoriety, vanity, wicked passions, peeping forth furtively, — foul speech flowing glibly. He takes up a Tory newspaper. The leading article has but weak arguments against the reformers; it also is but a tissue of coarse invective. Still the journal has mighty arguments against his party; for under another head it tells of all the outrages done in the name of liberty, — of riots in Sunderland, Manchester, and Bradford, or plots to seize the Tower and Mint, and murder ministers, by Thistlewood, — of treasonable proclamations at Glasgow, — of noble mansions sacked in city and country, — of costly machines broken in pieces, — of whole rural districts lighted by the conflagration of hay-ricks, — and of armed workmen by tens of thousands marching on London. Would it not require something of the spirit of a Condorcet, writing in prison during the worst excesses of the French Revolution his essay on "The Perfectibility of the Human Race," for such a one not to lose faith in the triumphs of popular liberty, at such a time, at least for a time? Can we not easily understand how even one as stanch and brave as the author of "The Biography of a Workingman," a leading radical, should ask himself, as "dash went the stones, and the glass window-frames crashed from nine o'clock till midnight," what this meant, — *was* it popular liberty? And yet *we* know that in the view of such men as Canning, and Grey, and Brougham, and Bowring, and a host of others, to say nothing of earlier reformers, they saw all this, and though they saw it saw no reason why they should join the Tory party, or even only stand aloof and neutral. With our American views, we cannot but feel that we, most of us, would have done as they. No one felt more keenly than did Dr. Arnold on these points. "My sense of the evil of the times," he said, "and of the prospects to which I am bringing up my children, is overwhelmingly bitter." All the moral and physical world appeared to him "to exactly announce the coming of the

great day of the Lord."* And yet he could none the less write such noble words as these: —

"As I feel that, of the two besetting sins of human nature, selfish neglect and selfish agitation, the former is more common, and in the long run has done far more harm, than the latter, although the outbreaks of the latter, while they last, are of a far more atrocious character; so I have in a manner vowed to myself, and prayed, that, with God's blessing, no excesses of popular wickedness, though I should be myself the victim of them, no temporary evils produced by revolution, shall ever make me forget the wickedness of Toryism, — of that spirit which has throughout the long experience of all history continually thwarted the cause of God and goodness."

Noble words, — yet not a few, while they grant this, may still cherish an obstinate and blind conservatism, as objectionable as the Toryism that he condemned.

Were it not that the feeble beginnings, the slow progress, of every good cause are constantly adduced as arguments against it, it would seem almost superfluous to allude to so obvious a fact as this, that there is a day of small things, a beginning to all, even ultimately the most successful, benevolent enterprises and reforms. Though in a different sense, the reformer may repeat the words of the conservative, "Wait awhile," and retort upon his opponent the charge of impatience.

The history of reforms and reformers has no more important lesson for both than this, — Be patient. Go not, in order to learn it, to those in whose vocabulary it means every body's setting down quietly and doing nothing, saying nothing, though it may seem as if the very stones would cry out; with whom even a calm and gentle word of remonstrance, any word which is not a reëcho of the voice of the majority, is flat fanaticism, and he who speaks it hardly a safe man. Go not to these; they will teach apathy and indifference, and call it patience.

But still, when tempted to discouragement and despair because success is not immediate, — when you are beginning "to fret because of evil-doers," and lose not only good temper, but faith in truth and right, and in their

* In somewhat the same strain, frightened by the disorders of the time, Luther once wrote: — "Pray God the world may not exist fifty years longer. Matters would be worse than they have been. May the Lord come at once! Let him cut the matter short with the day of judgment, for there is no amendment to be expected."

ultimate triumph, — then remember how, of all the great and most beneficent moral changes which the world has witnessed, the progress has been slow and gradual, — not unfrequently the generation, the century in which they began, has failed to see even advance. At first the prospect of success seemed immediate; but then a reaction came, the enterprise stood still during a lifetime; again new hope and impetus, again failure, and the day of success looked farther off than ever. And so on through weary years. At last success came, but at a time so far distant, that, had the fathers of those who enjoy its fruits foreseen its remoteness, they would not have had courage enough to move a step towards its attainment. Yet, had they not taken that first step, the final result would have been deferred to centuries later. Leo the Tenth, exclaiming, when tidings of Luther's heresy reached him, "It is only a squabble among the monks, the best way is to take no notice of it; it is a drunken German, when he is sober he will talk differently"; and Luther himself, writing such words as these at a later stage of his movement: — "If I had known in the beginning men were so hostile, I should certainly have held my peace"; — Leo's contempt and Luther's discouragement represent very faithfully what passes in the minds of both conservatives and innovators of all times. West India planters, in curt paragraphs in the London journals, "requesting the public to suspend judgment till they had done away, as they would in a few days, the idle tales told by a few zealots"; and Buxton, writing to a friend, "Opposed as we are by the West India interest, deserted by government, deemed enthusiasts by the public, I begin to think we shall do little"; — these are but repetitions of the same strain.

Major John Cartright has been styled "the father of Parliamentary reform." Byron said of him in the House of Lords, "He is a man whose long life has been spent in one unceasing struggle for the liberty of the subject." When, in 1820, he rode down to Warwickshire, travelling one hundred miles in a single day, though eighty years of age, to take his trial before a packed jury for conspiracy and sedition, he must have felt as if very little had been done through previous years for his darling object. Not till ten years later, and when he was in his

grave, was the first liberal ministry which England (except for a few distracted months) had had for sixty-five years organized by Earl Grey.

From the commencement of the French war in 1793, till the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828, not a solitary important reform was carried, except the abolition of the slave-trade. Even as late as March, 1831, when Lord John Russell brought forward in Parliament his project of Parliamentary reform, "there were not a few who regarded it no otherwise than as an audacious jest." "Sir Francis Burdett made for the eighteenth time the annual motion on the question of reform." These few words, which any one might have read in one of the newspapers of the year 1819, — what a history do they tell of hearts made sick by hope deferred, of distrust of the people, of exultation among the Tories, of despair among the liberals, of old friends once so zealous dropping off weary with the struggle, of men, years ago hopeful and sanguine, now ready to exclaim, with Arnold, "It is too late! It is too late!" When, in 1826, the Bishop of London remarked in public, that "nine people out of ten in London were opposed determinately to the claims of the Roman Catholics," it must have seemed to many minds as if it were all over with the cause of Catholic emancipation. When Cobden stood almost alone in the House of Commons, when not unfrequently roars of laughter greeted him on every side, he would have been counted very enthusiastic who should have prophesied that in a few years hence, not only should the Premier himself, Sir Robert Peel, become a convert to the doctrine of free trade, and pronounce a lofty eulogium on "that rare combination of elements centring in the mind and heart of Richard Cobden," but that in England the principle of protection should receive its death-blow.

In what has been said of imperfect results and small beginnings is involved another general charge against all reformers, — that of being men of one idea, visionary enthusiasts. If a good cause had no other recommendation than that it was advocated by persons of whom this was affirmed, we should not certainly be very hopeful in regard to it. We by no means assert that he is "bound to succeed," who, like the man in the play, expresses a

decided preference for being laughed at by every body. Still, it is true that these epithets have been applied to every man who has published new truths. Perhaps one of the most remarkable instances of "*one-ideaism*" * that has ever occurred, was offered by Howard. The author of an essay on Decision of Character thus remarks of him: — "He had an inconceivable severity of conviction that he had one thing to do, and that he who would do some great thing in this short life must apply himself with such a concentration of his forces as to idle spectators looks like insanity." A very narrow-minded man, — one of these idle spectators might say, — evidently a person of only one idea. What a pity he can't think or speak about any thing except this eternal theme of prisons! We cannot but conjecture that many must have said this of Howard, with not a little self-complacency. We apprehend that "idle spectators" have said the same of *every* earnestly benevolent man, who, like him, has succeeded in accomplishing any one great object.

There is also "a certain warmth of feeling and expression," into which all reformers, almost without exception, seem to have occasionally fallen. Even the mild and gentle Clarkson tells us, that when he boarded The Fly, a slave-ship, "First I felt melancholy horrors, then I felt a fire of indignation kindling within me." Windham, his heart stirred within him at what he saw of the slave-ships at Liverpool, once exclaimed, — "Rather let Liverpool and the Islands be swallowed up, than this monstrous iniquity should be carried on!" Can any one be surprised that a man who could speak thus, even in the natural exaggeration of a virtuous indignation at wrong, should be styled a fanatic? Are Liverpool and the Islands things of naught? are there no other interests than those of the black race to be consulted? might a cool observer well ask. What, too, would be said of Howard, and William Allen, and Buxton, making at different times the Continental tour, apparently so absorbed with the particular, the one idea which swayed them,

* Hazlitt had a ludicrous horror of that one-ideaism which leads to talking too much on a favorite subject. "L. H.," he writes, "once said to me, I wonder I never heard you speak upon this subject before, which you seem to have studied a great deal." I answered, "Why, we were not reduced to *that*, that I know of."

that, as appears by their different biographers, they hardly gave any attention to pictures and statues? Why is it that reformers everywhere have so little taste?

There is nothing, undoubtedly, so well calculated to strike persons of sober views with astonishment, as the enthusiasm, the confidence of success against such odds, which ardent reformers display. We will not refer to the exhibitions of these traits by peace-men, and temperance and antislavery men, in our own country. But we will take an illustration from what must have been the opinions of men with "sober views," during the agitation in the English Parliament upon the subject of the slave-trade. On the one side were, as Boswell styles them, "a few insignificant zealots," and on the other opinions and men such as we are about to designate. During these debates, the following sentiments were expressed. The Duke of Clarence (who little thought in those days that he would live to sign a bill appropriating twenty millions of pounds for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies), denounced Wilberforce as a "meddling fanatic," who ought to be expelled from Parliament. The Earl of Westmoreland said, that

"The African slave-trade might be contrary (though he would not grant this) to humanity and justice, and yet might be politic. The Jews had been allowed to hold slaves. The property connected with this interest amounted to a hundred millions. He condemned the resolution, as a libel upon the wisdom and law of the land, and upon the *conduct of our ancestors.*"

Mr. Baillie dwelt upon the bad effects of the agitation.

"Before it was started, the slaves were contented with their situation. Now it was otherwise. The acts our ancestors had passed ought to satisfy every person of the legality and usefulness of the trade. They were enacted in reigns distinguished for the production of great and enlightened characters. We heard then of no wild and destructive doctrines like the present."

Mr. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville)

"agreed on the propriety of its abolition, but he would submit it to his honorable friend, whether he did not run counter to the prejudices of those most deeply interested in the question."

Sir William Yonge censured the harsh language of Sir Samuel Romilly, who had applied the terms *rapine*

and *robbery* and *murder* to those concerned in the trade. Colonel Tarleton thought those on the other side were led away by a mistaken humanity. *The Africans themselves had no objection to it.* Mr. Grosvenor thought the slave-trade was not an amiable trade, yet it was a necessary one. He would not gratify his humanity at the expense of his country's interests. The degraded condition of the Africans, and the fact that the Scriptures were silent upon the subject of slave-trading, were also dwelt upon by several other distinguished speakers. Can we not easily imagine such arguments, backed too by such names, telling with great effect upon the minds of those who were distrustful of their own judgments, and who were accustomed to take their views from "well-informed circles," the sober and the judicious, the eminent and the distinguished men of the day?

So, also, as respects the means which reformers employ to bring about their objects, it is not strange that these should seem, even if the men themselves do not, visionary, impracticable, and vague. Sydney Smith says of the English, — "They are a calm, reflecting nation. They will give time and money when convinced, but they love dates, and names, and certificates. In the midst of the most heart-rending calamity, John Bull inquires the name of the month, the year of our Lord, the name of the parish, and the countersign of three or four respectable householders. After these affecting circumstances have been given, he can no longer hold out, but gives way to the kindness of his nature, puffs, blubbers, and subscribes." Think of good-hearted, yet thoroughly practical John Bull attending a "World's Convention" of friends of humanity, or, "a great meeting" of anti-war or anti-slavery brethren! Is it strange that John should look somewhat suspiciously upon "platform oratory," and that when, after yielding to a too hasty impulse, he is told in reply to his question, "Well, what do you mean to do? What 's your plan? What becomes of my subscription?" "Sir, we mean to try and change the public sentiment of the age, and to this end must print, and lecture, and agitate, Sir, agitate the question." Is it strange that our good-hearted yet practical friend should feel as if he could find a better investment for his charity funds than in somewhat dingy-looking small pamphlets, or eloquent re-

marks, or Exeter Hall harangues? Is it strange that he should say to himself, not always inaudibly, "Humbug!" deeming as he does that words, mere words, eloquent though they be, come rather dear in view of the little of visible good they do? And yet all the great movements of this and of past time are and have been carried by instrumentalities very much like these. Lecturing, and talking, and printing, though indefinite in their results, are better far than the fighting which our ancestors used to employ when they wanted reform, — those eminently practical men on the field of battle, who knew just what they accomplished, and who could show after the engagement, by figures, how more or less complete the victory was.

It does not always constitute a valid argument against a reformatory movement, that its first effects are indisputably bad. So far as the exciting of angry, wrathful passions, or fierce opposition is concerned, these, though to be deprecated, are still inevitable in certain quarters. Truth, however stated, though expressed in tones as gentle as those which once in Judea stirred up the people, when it comes in contact with class interests or popular prejudice, always excites more or less of violent opposition. Even the mild though enthusiastic Clarkson was more than once in danger of his life from those whose gains he menaced. The mercantile classes of Bristol and Liverpool were highly irritated at his fanaticism. Many a good citizen, a lover of peace, might have turned to the ardent reformer and said, Here you have been laboring for years; there is not one slave-ship on the coast of Africa the less, and the only effect has been to irritate people's minds and inflame bad passions. The opponents of Parliamentary reform might have urged the argument drawn from the bad passions excited, and with greater force, since the truth uttered by the reformers was made as offensive as the broadest liberty of denunciation and invective could make it. To quote the words of Miss Martineau, one not prone to exaggerate the faults of the popular side, —

"Seasons of harsh rule are invariably those of license of speech. Thus it was while Lord Sidmouth was in power. Evil-speaking seemed to have sprung up like a curse all over the land. Women were shamed in newspapers; the king was cari-

catured; every public man was slandered, and the diseased appetite for mockery and vituperation seized upon sacred things. There was nothing so high or holy but that it was laid hold of for purposes of malice or low wit."

Can we doubt that many lovers of peace and of the decencies of life said to radical friends, See here the effects of your movements for freedom; and found therein an excuse for being themselves the rankest of Tories.

All reforms have been open to this charge. Luther felt keenly the reproach brought against reforms based on the excesses of the anti-Catholics.*

There may even be some color for the charge, not only that the first effects of a new movement excite evil passions and lead to excess, but also that it injures in various ways the very ones whom it seeks to benefit most. Not to speak of the Israelites, who found their lot much embittered in consequence of the demand of Moses on Pharaoh, that he should give them their liberty, or of many liberal Catholics who before Luther arose — retired students, and others — enjoyed considerable freedom of inquiry and discussion, and who must have lamented the day when Mother Church, frightened by bold outspoken heresy, began to look more closely after her children, and in various ways to make disobedient ones worse off by far than they were previously, — not to speak of these, we may feel very sure that modern reformers of all classes have heard the same ill augury again and again. Opponents of the slave-trade have not, however, been prepared to admit that Clarkson and Sharpe and Wilberforce were wrong, and Liverpool and Bristol merchants right,

* The errors of the most distinguished of the Reformers (after him) might have been adduced to this end. Those of the Rhine and Switzerland, Zwingle, Bucer, Œcolompadius, fully participated in the theology of Carolstadt, differing only from him in submission to the civil authorities. "Not one of them was disposed to remain," says Michelet, "in the limits Luther assigned." Yet perhaps even the reproach drawn from this source, and from the excesses of the image-breakers and the Anabaptists and the peasants, did not grieve Luther so much as to hear his wife ask him, — "How is it, husband, that under Popery we prayed so frequently and fervently, and that now our prayers are so cold and unfrequent?"

Villers, in his *Essai sur la Reformation*, gives, in a few striking words, by happy illustration, the whole gist of the argument of men like Erasmus, who reasoned from the bad effects following the Reformation: — "Un prisonnier a qui l'on ouvre la porte de son cachot, n'en sort qu'a pas mal assurées — il erre a l'aventure-tombe. . . . . Vaut il mieux pour cela laisser cet homme dans son cachot? Les adversaires de la reforme disent qu'*oui*."

because, when, through the efforts of the former, slave-trading was declared piracy, those engaged in it were obliged to employ vessels built for speed as well as draught, thus making the quarters of the poor victims more incommodious, and the horrors of the Middle Passage more intolerable, than before. When Romilly and McIntosh excited the indignation of some friends of law and order, by their attempts "to screen offenders and take away all salutary restraints against crime," we can conceive that not a few wretches, who might else have been saved from hanging by a legal quibble, if not by their own innocence, fell victims to the anxious desire of jurymen to show they were no advocates of a weak sensibility, a morbid philanthropy in behalf of felons. When, in 1823, disorders took place in Barbadoes, — when missionaries were no longer allowed to preach, — when two hundred negroes were killed and wounded and forty-seven executed in Demerara, and many more flogged, receiving more than a thousand lashes, many may have said, See here the first results of the movement for emancipation in the West Indies to the very ones in behalf of whom it is agitated. So argued, we doubt not, not only West India proprietors, but many an English country gentleman, who, in his turn, — once the kind, indulgent landlord, now made petulant and suspicious of "the lower orders" by radical agitators, and the determination of his tenantry to vote as they pleased, — makes them feel in rent distraining, and loss of employment, that they too are no better off for all the talk about the right of suffrage and a people's Parliament.

The relation of "the Church" to modern reforms has excited so much attention, and the attacks made by reformers upon it have been so constant, that we shall make no apology for devoting some space to this particular point.

In perusing the history of reforms in England, one cannot but be struck with the fact, that almost every one of the individuals prominent in those of a moral or philanthropic character was an earnest and devoted Christian. We use the term *Christian* emphatically. The French Revolutionists, Robespierre among others, spoke as eloquently as the English reformers did about the great law of human brotherhood, and the sacred rights of

man. But, apart from their own instincts and the teachings of natural religion, they had no other *gospel* than that of Jean Jacques Rousseau.* Clarkson, Wilberforce, Robert Hall, Dr. Wardlaw, the Gurneys, Joseph Sturge, and a host of others like them, urged their reforms on distinctively Christian grounds. The number of religionists, ministers and others, especially of the Dissenting bodies, found among the English reformers is very large. Still we think that reformers are in the main right who assert that the Church (using the term in the sense in which it is employed by American "evangelical" Protestants), that organized Christianity in modern times, has done very little to promote reforms, at least in their first commencement. We are confident that the elaborate church organizations, the church machinery abounding in this country especially, have been as little favorable to social reform as they have been to individual piety. Luther said of religionists of his time, "I was for three years all alone; not a single soul holding out the hand of fellowship to me, but now they all want to share the triumph." So modern reformers may say of the great religious bodies of our days. That this has been true of the English Church especially, few, we think, will deny. The position which it took in respect to Parliamentary reform — only one bishop (of Norwich) voting for it at the first reading of the bill, while twenty-one voted against it — is only a part of a system "eminently conservative" in all respects. Dr. Arnold felt strongly on this subject.

"I cannot," he remarks, "understand what the good of a national church is, if it be not to Christianize the nation and introduce the principles of Christianity into men's social relations. . . . . If the clergy would come forward as one man, exhorting peaceableness on one side and justice on the other, denouncing high rents and the game laws, and the carelessness which keeps the poor ignorant, and then wonders

* Is it not a growing sentiment that Lamartine is right in regarding the French Revolution as the result of religious ideas, though vague and shadowy, — and that even Robespierre, perhaps as much as any one, acted under their influence? See Lamartine on this point, and also some remarks upon the comparative influence of Rousseau and Voltaire upon the French Revolutionists, in an article on Goethe in the Edinburgh Review, for July, 1850.

they are brutal, I verily believe they might yet save themselves and the state. One good man in the Times recommends the clergy should preach subordination and obedience. I seriously say, God forbid!"

We do not need his testimony in other pages, showing that the Church did not act on these principles. We know, without being told, what pious Churchmen would have thought, if the clergy through the land had *not* preached that human law was paramount to all other law. We know what religious people who went to church to hear the Gospel preached would have said, if they had been treated to a discourse about pheasants and partridges, even though some did need to be reminded that men, notwithstanding they broke the game laws, were of "more worth than" any "birds of the air."

As respects the Dissenting bodies of England, we are aware that very many of them, as we have just said of individuals belonging to them, sympathized in many of the moral as well as in the liberal political movements of English reformers. And yet we doubt very much whether, when Bristol and Liverpool were in commotion because Clarkson had denounced the slave-trade, audiences in many Dissenting chapels listened patiently to discourses on its iniquity, and on the sin of wealthy merchants, church-members though they were, being concerned in it. We can imagine churches, synods, and conferences passing resolutions against the sin of going to the theatre, much more easily than we can imagine them protesting against pious Dissenters holding slaves in Demerara or Jamaica. Devout men, owners of mines, where women and children, under ground, were worked like brute beasts, — gentlemen subscribing largely to the missionary fund or the anti-tithe association, who were possessors of large breweries or gin-palaces, — "evangelical" proprietors of cheap lodging-houses, or pillars of the church holding the lucrative offices of superintendents of the city drains and sewers, sworn foes to cant about sanitary reform, — we can hardly conceive of *their* being troubled by church discipline and action, though we can conceive of their voting to suspend or cut off from communion weak brethren for not believing in the Trinity, or for not attending meeting regularly, or for eing over gay.

A great deal of sensitiveness on the one hand, and of unreasonable expectation on the other, would be done away, if it were always understood what the terms "the Christian Church," "Christ's Church," mean. Two considerations, commonplace though they be, are frequently disregarded. One is, that the fact that a body of men and women call themselves members of the Church of Christ does not make them so. *That* is composed of those who believe his words, follow his example, and have imbibed his spirit. It matters little what name they bear. They may have no denominational name. They may be disowned by all who have, — and yet they are members of the Church of Christ. Another error is, that of speaking of the Church as of something impersonal, or rather as of a something whose decisions and dicta are independent of those of the individuals composing it. Protestants speak of the Church very much as Roman Catholics do of the Church at Rome, which is in some sense independent of those who belong to it. The effect of these two errors is twofold. The effect of the first has been, that reformers have drawn unwarrantably an argument against the Christian Church, in some cases against Christianity itself, because certain persons who are pleased to call themselves the Christian Church have opposed all social amelioration, all discussion upon the point even; — whereas, in truth, to admit that one's church is on the side of those who do or defend what Christ himself by the letter or the spirit of his word rebukes, is to say, in effect, Ours is *not* Christ's Church, but only one belonging to a certain denomination. It is called Christ's Church simply for appearance' sake.

The other error, that of speaking of the Church as of a something impersonal, as if it were not composed of individuals, may be thus illustrated. An ardent reformer — we will say of the antislavery class — goes into a New England village. He learns that there is a very low state of feeling there upon his favorite subject. Why is this? he asks. Being told that the leading people are against its agitation, he makes more particular inquiries, and in reply learns something like this. To say nothing of Mr. ——, the minister's reasons for not preaching on the subject, — though, if he have not more

of the martyr spirit than have most reformers who speak of his short-comings, they will appear in a measure further on, — he understands that Mr. ——, the lawyer, is an excellent man and a good citizen, — "so are they all," — but he has doubts about his duties under the Constitution. Mr. ——, the physician, has more than he can do in seeing to his patients; but still thinks that Abolitionists have put back their cause twenty years. Mr. ——, the trader, cannot get over the Scriptural argument; is not sure that Moses did not authorize slavery. Mr. ——, the schoolmaster, has been to the South, and was well treated there, and is quite sure therefore that the negroes are so likewise. Mr. —— has relations in New Orleans. Mr. —— is as much opposed to slavery as any body, but he once went in to the Marlborough Chapel, and heard what seemed to him infidelity. Mr. —— hates the very words *reform*, *reformers*, because he knows one of this class well, and he is every way disagreeable. The effect of these opinions, held by the most influential people in the place, upon the public sentiment of the village is decisive. The people at "the store" and the bar-room reëcho them, though in rather different phraseology, and with additions of their own. Our ardent reformer sees why all this is so, "but there is another question which I wish to ask," he says, to his informant. "It is natural, perhaps, that Messrs. A, B, and C should feel this, but how is it with your church? That, of course, we expect to be in advance of public sentiment." Can we not anticipate the answer? "Why, Sir, I have just been telling you, setting aside some few humble, entirely uninfluential brethren and sisters, these very people I have mentioned are the church." And yet the next thing one will hear of our earnest friend will be, that, at some great Abolition meeting, he is expressing his profound astonishment that the American Church is not in advance of public sentiment. He says this, when he knows perfectly well that the American Church is but the aggregate of a multitude of exactly such individual churches as the one just referred to. Truly, it takes very little to astonish some people. He speaks as if he really believed that our American "evangelical" churches are like what the Romish Church once was (not now), when, standing apart from the people, it rebuked the

atrocities of the feudal system, powerful barons not daring to incur her censure, though those who implored her aid were only poor, degraded serfs and thralls.

What with revivals to be got up, and heresies to be put down, what with new schools and old schools, to say nothing of dancing and other like abominations, the American churches have quite enough to do without interfering with slave-holding members, that is, unless public sentiment should make it perfectly expedient.

Liberal Christians, attaching different ideas to the word *Church* from their "evangelical" neighbours, are not only, we think, unconscious of the great influence wielded by an "evangelical" church (at least over its own members), but also somewhat mistaken as to the nature of the controversy which American reformers have with the Church in respect to its support of American slavery.

We say it advisedly, when we remark that, when they speak about church action and discipline in reference to slavery, they speak only in reference to those sects or religious bodies who claim the right to exercise it in reference to other offences. Their argument, though we give our own words, is in effect this. If an Orthodox or Presbyterian church excludes persons from its communion-table for selling intoxicating drinks, even where the sale is authorized by the law, why, on *their own principles*, should they admit those who buy and sell human beings? If a church can discipline an humble member for going to a theatre or ball, why not a wealthy one for owning slaves? If Northern churches will not *fellowship* other churches believing in sprinkling, why *fellowship* churches whose ministers and people believe in slave-holding?

American reformers have said hard things of the Church, though not more so than the German Reformers said of "the Church" of their day, and of the *indulgences* which *she* allowed to evil-doers. When we have read some of the doings of great synods and general assemblies in America, — not to speak of those of individual churches, — we have felt that reformers were hardly so much to be blamed for plain speech as some pretend. What will posterity think when it learns that great Presbyterian general assemblies and synods were accus-

tomed to convene in New York and Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century, to pass solemn resolutions against the sin of dancing, and the bad custom of sitting in prayer, while, "lest the prevailing peace and tranquillity should be disturbed," all action upon the subject of slavery (and that while thousands of their church-members held slaves) was pronounced "peculiarly improper and inexpedient"? What will posterity say of such a sentiment as this, uttered by the president of one of the last general conventions of Baptists, Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. D., of South Carolina, — "When in any country slavery has become a part of its settled policy, the inhabitants, even Christians, may hold slaves without crime"? We do not think, further, that liberal Christians are generally aware that the heaviest charges ever brought against the evangelical churches of this country have been brought by honored members and organs of those churches. We would ask particular attention to these admissions from Rev. Dr. Barnes, author of the popular commentary, Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, of Baltimore, a zealous Colonizationist, and the New York Evangelist. What is it, asks Dr. Barnes, that lends the most efficient sanction to slavery in this country? Then, after enumerating love of power, idleness, and the law, he thus proceeds: —

"After all, the thing which most directly interferes with all attempts at reformation is the fact that the system is countenanced by good men; that bishops, and priests, and deacons, that ministers and elders, that Sunday-school teachers and exhorters, that pious matrons and heiresses, are the holders of slaves, and that the ecclesiastical bodies of the land address no language of rebuke or entreaty to their consciences. That will be a slow work of reformation which will be undertaken against any thing that has the sanction of the Church of the 'Living God'; for God meant that the Church should occupy a prominent place in every effort to deliver the world from sin. . . . . .

"Were all the ministers and members of the churches to do so simple a thing as the Society of Friends, after much toil and effort, have done to remove from *themselves* the sin of slavery, and to stand before the world in the sublime and noble attitude of having no connection whatever with the system, how soon would the system come to an end!"

Rev. R. J. Breckenridge thus writes: —

"Its [slavery's] political aspect, we grant, is bad enough, *but its evils, in a moral point of view, may truly be termed* LEGION. The Church has cherished it in her bosom, and sustained it by her example, until it has reared its head so high in the sanctuary as almost to BID DEFIANCE TO HER AUTHORITY. This is evidently one of the worst signs of the times. But if we must wait for the civil authorities to take the lead in opposing this sin, what is it but an acknowledgment that *politics* are purer than religion.

"We are truly in a woful plight, if the Church must abandon her contest with sin, and lean for support upon the arm of the world. Perhaps nothing tends so much to perpetuate this monstrous system, as the acknowledged fact *that men truly pious support it by their example.* This hallows it in the eyes of the world. Would the Church only see to the removing of such props, the *unsightly fabric must soon totter and fall.*"

In the spring of 1847, the New York Evangelist had the following most instructive, as well as frank, acknowledgment:—

"To the shame of the Church it must be spoken, the foremost men in some of our philanthropic movements, in the interpretation of the spirit of the age, in the practical applications of Christianity, in the reformation of abuses, in the vindication of the rights of man, are men who make no profession, and whom we have no reason to believe to be experimentally acquainted with Christianity. The Church has pusillanimously left, not only the working oar, but the very reins, of certain necessary reforms of the day in the hands of men who, if not before inimical to Christianity, will be made so by Christianity's neglect of what it is its proper mission to look after. They are doing practically with all their might, for humanity's sake, what the Church ought to be doing as heartily, through its ministry and representative men, for Christ's sake. . . . . .

"Woe be to religion, when irreligious men, by force of nature, or the tendency of the age, get ahead of the Church in morals and in the practical work of Christianity. In some instances they are already a long way ahead. And we might specify individuals and journals in this country that are far before the recognized organs of the Church in the advocacy of truth, and righteousness, and liberty. It would be difficult to say whether there is the more disgrace or danger in a fact like this."

These, be it observed, are the admissions of men who are not only honored members of the evangelical churches, but who know also that, *according to their own principles*, the churches have a right to interfere in the

matter, and who understand too what a weight of influence they exert. Still, notwithstanding these and other admissions of a like kind, justifying some of the charges brought against the churches (so called) by reformers, there are, we think, a few extenuating circumstances. Though churches are composed of people, they are by no means generally those least worthy of esteem. "Why come out?" asks Emerson; "the street is as false as the church." It is untrue, generally speaking, that the churches in their ecclesiastical action are not, to say the least, a little in advance of thoroughly selfish, worldly, irreligious conservatives. They are just so far ahead of these upon moral and reformatory questions, as *individuals* who are thoroughly respectable, sedate, and moral, in the main conscientious, and meaning to do what is about right, yet who are not above unworthy biases, or aloof from narrow prejudices, will be in advance of other individuals in the community who have not their good qualities.

There is also another point which we can merely glance at in this connection. Religious bodies, calling themselves churches, have many interests at stake, and therefore, compared with other associations, they occupy, we think (we would not say it irreverently), the same relation to them, as does the religious to the secular press. The tone of the former (though there are too many exceptions to the remark) is, generally speaking, higher than that of the latter. Our religious papers are edited, not only by professedly religious individuals, but in some instances by those whose tendencies are decidedly reformatory, and yet they rarely meet the expectations of earnest reformers, in their mode of treating great moral and social questions. Why is this? Undoubtedly one reason is, that there are various interests to be consulted by the proprietors besides those of reform. Like the church, the journal has subscribers who approve or disapprove of Mexican wars, and of selling and drinking intoxicating liquor, — subscribers to the creed, like subscribers to the paper, dwell South as well as North. Like the church, the journal has supporters who are very radical, and also some who are very conservative. Various tastes and temperaments are to be consulted. It will not do in either case to have numbers fall off; nor must rival pa-

pers, any more than rival churches, profit by "an imprudence." There are, in brief, various reasons why "a conciliatory, a prudent course" should be pursued, — some of them not entirely bad ones, and which we only refer to in order to prove that the Church, as the phrase is usually applied by Protestants, cannot by any possibility be much in advance of the public sentiment on reformatory questions.

On another point, suggested by what has been said, — the attitude of liberal Christianity and liberal Christians to the reformatory movements of our day, — our limits will not allow us to say as much as we wish. The preaching and writings of Dr. Channing, of a reformatory character, have had great influence upon liberal Christians as a religious body. Many of them feel that reforms are quite as much legitimate inferences from our fundamental religious views, as are any doctrines that we may hold. And yet it cannot be denied, that, owing, we think, mainly to the social and other conservative influences of the city which is the stronghold of our faith, this is by no means true of all. We are not sure even that Dr. Channing's reformatory writings do not find more sympathy among Christians of a different name than they do among our laymen, — at least in our cities and large towns. There is this curious circumstance, — and we are indebted for the remark to one of our most conservative ministerial friends, — "No other denomination has so many rather radical ministers in it, and yet at the same time so many conservative lay members." We think that our laymen, generally speaking, may be considered as coming next in this regard to those of the Episcopal Church, — that church which supplies almost all the chaplains to our navy, which is the favorite one with the military, which looks distrustfully upon temperance societies, which is the only one that has not been disturbed by the antislavery agitation, and the administration of which, whatever other defect or excellence it may have, is singularly free from every thing that can give offence to any hearer, if so be he believes in the doctrines of "the Church" and likes its Liturgy. In view of these facts, and of another in close affinity with them, — namely, that earnest Unitarians are now and then found to prefer Episcopacy to the preaching of their own min-

isters, if it be *vitiated*, as they deem, by allusions to "foreign and exciting topics,"— this question has often been forced upon the minds of other earnest Unitarians: — For the sake of these individuals, whom we must always hold to our body by rather a weak bond, is it best to present the liberal tendencies of our faith only in connection with *theological* inquiry? Or, on the other hand, is it not best (while we shun an ultraism and extravagance not in harmony with the genius of our faith) to follow out also those equally strong tendencies leading to a sympathy with all that wisely aims at social improvement and progress? Is it not our duty to follow conscience when it points the same way as does a purely intellectual induction?

Before mentioning a further thought which has occurred to some liberal Christians, we would remark that we do not propose to insult our Unitarian readers (nor to lower ourselves), by basing any argument addressed to *them* on the poor plea of denominational policy, one to which, thanks in part to our loose sectarian organization, they are but little accustomed. We would add, also, that liberal Christians have cherished the thought referred to, whose desire to see truth spread rests on considerations somewhat independent of increase to sect, or the filling of empty pews, or the building of new Unitarian meeting-houses. Their ideas have been somewhat these. Not only are there many in our own congregations, young people and others, who have little interest in Unitarianism, considered simply as a doctrinal system, but there is also another class which we should bear in mind. It is made up of persons throughout the whole country, who sympathize strongly with the reformatory movements of the time, who are disgusted, not only with the action or want of action of the Evangelical churches upon these questions, but also with their bigotry and their religious dogma, and yet who are not attracted towards our views because they are not satisfied with a liberal system of *theology merely*, holding as they do, indeed, that too much account is made everywhere of mere theology. Now some liberal Christians think, that, if this class can be reached by any one of the Christian bodies in the land, it can be by ours. They believe that our views have great advantages to this end, inasmuch as they are

little trammelled in their exhibition by church rule and interests and connections. They are confident that, if these could be fully developed in their legitimate relations to the great moral questions of the day, — though they should bear no more ultra or fanatical stamp than they wore in Channing's mind, — they would meet the wants of this large and constantly increasing class, who, if such truths are not presented, will inevitably swell the ranks of *Come-outism*, if not of infidelity.

The question, how far these floating ideas and opinions are right or wrong, our limits, already exceeded, compel us to leave our readers to decide for themselves.

J. P.

Art. IV. — THE ELEMENTS OF INFLUENCE IN THE CHARACTER OF CHRIST.*

The title of the little compilation named below suggests two trains of reflection to us, which we shall pursue with a freedom corresponding to the latitude of our motto. One line of reflection leads us from Christianity to the character of Christ, and the other leads us from the character of Christ to Christianity. In the one, we start from the fact of the spotless and unchanging worth which all creeds and all ages confess and venerate in that character; in the other, we start from the fact of the pure and benignant humanity which that character has breathed into all creeds and all ages.

The fact stated in the first of these propositions, we may assume. It is admitted and unquestioned. This unity on the moral and spiritual personality of Christ is a great peculiarity. It is a peculiarity, if we compare the character of Christ with his circumstances and with his mission. He was poor, — of humble position, — of humble occupation. He had no earthly learning, and though his soul was Divinely gifted, his gifts were not used to catch men with bewitching guile, nor to hold

* *The Words of Christ.* From the New Testament. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 16mo. pp. 150.

them in luxurious fascination. Gentle though he was, his themes were awful, and though meek of spirit, he spoke with absolute authority. And thus he spoke in the hearing of men who held themselves the elect of nations, and in the presence of other men, who were the conquerors and the kings of nations.

The fact stated respecting the character of Christ has peculiarity when that character is compared with other characters. Characters do, indeed, constantly show themselves, that are not bound by limits or traditions, but which are yet limited in their own inherent power. Power in none of them was spiritual or full; power in none of them was inward or complete. The result was, that they entered but little into the essential life of *Man*, and from that little they were in no long time cast out. Time outlasts them; the ages leave them behind, and he whose very name is not lost in the thick cloud of distant centuries finds his only immortality in being nothing but a *name*. Open the Lives of Plutarch, and observe how many names of men who had been heroes had no clear existence in the memory of historic Greece. Mythologic superstition wrapped them in oblivious fable, with a denser fog than any that covers Olympus, when clouds are heaviest on its summit. Take even the names which are highest in the light of fame and story, — to the studious of mankind they are but phantoms, and to the rest of mankind they are nothing. We have no occasion to travel back so far. Our assertions can be verified much nearer. Nor need we consult even the remote pages of modern biography. Examples sufficiently apposite and convincing belong almost to our own day and generation. The names of men who might now be alive are already but sounds, and ere long will be but echoes. What a foolish as well as vulgar malice was that which excited the savages of the first French Revolution to disturb the ashes of their kings, — as if a short-lived splendor had not paid its penalty to Time by forgetfulness among men, and by the silence of the grave! How sublimely might the poorest beggar address the most regal tyrant of Westminster Abbey or St. Dennis, in the grand and pathetic words of the prophet, — yet not exultingly, but in humility, — "Thy pomp is brought down to the grave, and the noise of thy viols: the worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee!"

But characters which stand in the best relations to men have circumscribing conditions about them, and seeds of mortality within them. The greatest of these also become little more than names. Every age has its own literature, and its favorite authors. Generation arises after generation, which knows not the worthies whom its predecessors celebrated. Children do not walk in the ways of their fathers either in wisdom or in pleasure; new men create new times, new times bring with them new necessities and new tastes. Those, therefore, who instructed and amused the fathers, can no longer instruct or amuse the children; they are set aside for those who can; and they, in their turn, will be set aside for others. Poets whom our ancestors read with passionate admiration, we cannot read at all. Stories that moved them to hearty laughter or to painful sympathy are to us meaningless and vapid. Sermons, to which they listened with throbbing bosoms and devouring ears, are now, as their preachers, mouldered into voiceless dust. And though every age teaches this truth, — the corruptibility, the mortality, of men's thoughts and doings, — every age will insist that its own favorites are deathless. Yet the greatest of these and the most inspired can gain but imperfect notice, and make only poor impression, beyond the limits of his own tongue. It is not different with authors of the most sublime and the most useful inventions. We behold in the earth stupendous achievements from oldest time of human skill and human power; but the arts by which these achievements were performed, and the authors by whom these arts had being, are alike lost, the arts to ingenuity and the authors to history. Though this in our era, cannot occur, that which does occur amounts almost to a similar result. For the discoveries of these times are so rapid, one is so quickly set aside, either by an improvement on itself, or by another different in contrivance and more effective in power, that the original discovery and discoverer sink at once into obscurity together. Even should the invention hold its ground, men in their bustle and cupidity give no thought to the benefactor to whom they owe their advantages, and the inventor of a machine, as the creator of the universe, is forgotten in his work. Neither does virtue escape. The moral wants of society change,

as well as its intellectual, artistic, social, and material wants, and the ministrations of religion, of charity, of philanthropy, are also subject to the law of vicissitude. The ministers, as well as the ministrations, must undergo the action of the law, — to-day, known of all men, to-morrow, asked for by none, and remembered only by a few. Thus we trace the elements of death in all, so far as the consciousness of this visible world is concerned, — and so the elements of corruption could be also traced; for either bad motives are attributed to the best men, or a bad use is made of their best motives. Though many characters do earn very general approval, only *one* has been placed beyond criticism. The others, immortal if they be, do not escape censure, and fail in universality of attraction. The purest patriot does not attract the world; the sincerest philanthropist cannot bind centuries to his spirit; the most devoted saint is nothing out of his church; the reformer is regarded, not by those merely who are involved in the evils he rebukes, but by those, also, whose opinions he attacks, as an antagonist, an enemy, a destroyer, a fanatic, or a madman. Nor does time always lay this spirit: only for one reformer, — for one reformer alone, — has time had such effect.

But we go back and repeat, that, of the greatest men and best whom the world honors and remembers, each is to it more a name than a life. We might prove this by illustrations throughout all civil history and over the civilized world. Let us confine ourselves to two. They shall be recent, and, as is natural, we shall select two that spoke our own tongue, and were moved by feelings as native to ourselves as to them. But though immediately related to us, perhaps the race could not afford us two others more liberal in their affections to the world, or by the world more amply appreciated. They were not especially men of sanctity, but what they wanted in sanctity they had in compass. The men to whom we refer are Washington and Howard. Now would the humblest among us be content to bind up Washington or Howard with his life, to make either or both the spirit and the measure of his life? — No; much as we are below them, for this we are too near to them. No; grand as such men are, they are not the same yesterday, to-day,

and for ever, and this sameness the sameness of an enduring, incorruptible, inward, and living power.

The peculiarity of Christ's character these remarks will enable us to estimate, — its singular, its miraculous peculiarity. Philosophies and philosophers during two thousand years have been clashing in the battle of antagonist speculations, and each set of combatants has passed successively out of sight. Literatures have had the fate of philosophy, to decline and perish, not the bad by itself, but along with it the excellent. Ancient and great peoples have been lost, scattered, or exterminated. The character of Christ still remains immaculate and unchanged. Immutable it continues, amidst the mutabilities of thought, amidst the mutabilities of men. Empires have been swept away; in the wilderness thus created, other empires have been planted; these, in their turn, have flourished and expired; but no defacement or decay has touched the living character of Christ. Asia has been altered; Africa, at one time aroused, has sunk into brutal lethargy; Europe has undergone transformations numberless; a world of new space has been found in America, and a world of new men have grown up in it; but, like waves beneath the sun, all these fluctuations roll on, and leave the character of Christ in its fixed and its undimmed resplendency. Theological revolutions come, and break up settled habits of belief; political revolutions come, and break up settled habits of submission; social revolutions come, and break up settled habits of feeling; but the belief, the submission, and the feeling, which bind the soul to this character, as to the centre of its own perfection, none of these revolutions loosen or unfix. The enmities of opponent creeds, the battles of rival churches, bigotries and their persecutions, have had nothing to aid them in the life of Jesus; and although they have been able to pervert the meaning of his doctrine, they have never been able to pervert the meaning of that life. Our own day has its chaos of sects, with its contradictory opinions and its confusing noises, but contradictory and confusing as they are, gather from each sect, as we have said, its moral idea of Jesus, and all, when compared, will be found in unison. Not in the world merely, but likewise in the Church, seasons there have been of sorrowful abasement; gross manners, impure

morals, fierce and cruel sentiments, have at times overwhelmed men at the altar as well as in the market-place. Yet have they never looked for their exemplar in the moral individuality of Christ. Nay, the bitter, cynical, sneering skepticism, which takes delight in profaning all that is sacred and endeared, in pulling down all that the heart enthrones, in laughing at all that the heart esteems, — that skepticism, which has spared nothing else, has spared the character of Christ.

We shall now refer to some of the qualities which the general fact implies. It implies the *reality* of Christ's character. There is truth and there is sufficiency in it. When we consider how few the actual relations of Christ were with the world, this is a great wonder. No one feels that any elements of his nature are wanting in it; and whatever his relations to life may be, he feels that in this character he is included, embraced, and understood. The child feels this, and never for a moment conceives of Jesus as imaginary; the father, the mother, the young man, and the maiden feel it no less; and each takes it into his or her human and religious sympathies as a quickening reality. As regards the common ties of life, Christ was most isolated, but yet how bound he was to *man*. The difference is not measurable between him and other men whose mission had personal loneliness, — and among the grandest of those we may name the Baptist. Compared with Christ, the greatest historical characters that we know seem unreal. They have their day, and with their day they die. Just in the degree, however, that they have roundness and fulness of life, — just in the degree that they connect themselves with what is essential and lasting in humanity, be it by letters, by laws, by morals, by religion, — they gain sway over diversity of nations, and continue to hold it with the successive stages of their progress. But, judged in this manner, incompleteness in character is yet more fatal to its durability than incompleteness in principles and ideas, — as character is more palpable than thought, — its incompleteness is the sooner felt, and its vitality the sooner exhausted.

How, then, shall we estimate that wealth of spirit, that grandeur and harmony of being, which in the character of Jesus drew all races into unity in devotion to it? How shall we estimate that enduring inspiration,

which not alone answers to every human improvement, but is its exciting impulse and its central cause, — that which animates all progress, and yet transcends all progress? In this, independently, even, of historical evidence, we are conscious of *reality*. Its accordance with the laws of our own souls confirms its reality. The witness is within ourselves, and we cannot give the lie to its testimony, without convicting of falsehood our most primitive beliefs, our most genuine experience, our most unquestioned judgments, — in fact, without subverting all in our spiritual constitution, intuitive or practical, that is the basis of knowledge or of faith. Nothing invented, nothing contrived, nothing artificial, could have the continuity of life, the universality of appreciation, which the character of Christ has; so that if it does not possess substantial truth, yet irreconcilable with art, invention, or contrivance, it is the greatest of conceivable contradictions; it is an effect without a cause, and this effect is a miracle without an author. But the qualities of Christ's character we feel, as we trace them in the Gospel, to have consistency, harmony, unity; we feel that the record is the impress of an actual existence, and that it can be nothing else. Sustained only by our own mind, this persuasion is a mental necessity; consulting the common sense of men, through history, ecclesiastical or civil, the individual is coincident with the general consciousness. The personality of Christ, we know, has been doubted, and even denied. The doubt or denial takes no hold of the understanding; either of them shocks the instincts of reason, and the ordinary sense of probability, and this moral resistance, though not a logical confutation, is, for the most part, a sufficient one. There are things upon which men decide at once, and decide correctly. This point, the reality of Christ's character, is among such things. It needs not to be critics or antiquarians, it needs no deep research through documents and traditions, to be certain that the character of Jesus, — Jesus of Nazareth, — though such as none on earth besides could claim, was still the character of a man, — of an actual man, — a man that was in company with his brethren, and was like unto them, — a man that lived, that suffered, and that died. Though every tradition which attests this were forgotten, though every doc-

ument — except the Gospel — which bears record of it were destroyed, the Gospel itself, the Gospel alone, would be abundant confirmation.

After centuries have rolled along, we can discriminate on canvas the picture which had its original in life from that which had only its image in the fancy of the artist, though no name be discovered, and no history be extant. But the moral delineation of Christ in the Gospel bears the stamp of a more decided certainty, a more manifest reality. The outward evidence does not, however, fail in the least, and though it neither needs help nor asks it from the inward testimony, this inward testimony gives to the outward evidence spirituality and elevation. It is not a mere naked, curious, or ancient fact we are demonstrating, but one dear to the human soul, one precious to the human race.

The fact which forms the basis of these remarks implies the perfect *beauty* of Christ's character. Beauty of the highest kind never wears out, never dies; it moves awakened souls in every place, and it moves them always. Absolute beauty is to feeling what absolute truth is to reason; it has no dates or eras, it has no novelty or oldness; independent on opinions, tastes, or fashions, it is immutable and perfect in itself. Thus it is with beauty in nature. Fresh as when first created is the morning beauty of the rising sun; and his strength of splendor is still as young, when at his setting he floods the western heavens with his glory. The evening star does not grow dim with age, the moon does not with cycles decline in loveliness, and the earth, which swims amidst them all in brightness, gives their brightness back, and is, as themselves, as fair as ever. Fair always, and grand, this earth, goodly to look upon, and live in; inexhaustible and benign to successive and increasing generations, as they come on and depart from it. The mountain and the ocean fail not in their power; the cataract among the woods ceases not from its lonely song; the birds stop not their music in the grove; jewels still sparkle in the grass; cloud-shaped wonders are visions in the sky; forest, and hill, and stream, and lake, and meadow, and vineyard, and orchard, and corn-field, and garden, and human dwelling, and the forms and sounds of all living things, are ever the same, for beauty to the senses,

and beauty to the soul. But all beauty must, indeed, be to the soul: this, then, can be only beauty given to the soul through the medium of the senses. It is the Creator's *Spirit* whence comes all that is good and lovely, conversing with our spirits by means of all that is grateful to the senses and to fancy. And Art is the means of a similar communion between our minds and the minds of our higher brethren, — of those by whose transcendent conceptions we are moved through forms and sounds equally transcendent. Our remark concerning beauty in nature will also apply to beauty in art. That which is nearest in art to perfection is the nearest to immortality, the nearest to the universal, the nearest to an ideal all-comprehensive and all-enduring. Buildings, for instance, we have patterns of from ancient ages, of shape and structure so comely and proportioned, that, in gazing on them, the eye is never wearied, nor the imagination ever satiated. Statues remain to us, in whole or parts, of which the same may be said, statues of women, of men, of animals, which placed their makers above kings, — statues which were coveted by the proudest nations, which delighted distant ages, which still enchant the world, and ever will enchant it. So of pictures, too: though the canvas, with the divine tracings and colorings that overspread it, may dissolve, yet, so pathetic and true are some of the conceptions which genius, moved by the spirit of devotion or the spirit of humanity, has left us, that the merest transcripts affect us to reverence or to tears, and will so affect men while a copy or a print of them continues in existence. But there is a beauty in humanity that infinitely surpasses any that it beholds out of itself, — that surpasses all above it in the sky, all around it on the earth, — that surpasses whatever genius has devised, and skill created, shaped, or delineated, in temple, statue, painting, — not in the splendor merely of its wondrous examples of loveliness and majesty, but in its common average of being, in the sweetness of infancy, in the grace of childhood, in the bloom and strength of youth, in the full action of maturity, in age, placid and subdued, crowned by years with the spotless diadem of snowy locks. These, however, are still but stages of the transient; like all other outward things, they belong to time, not to the eternal. To the immortal in man, to

the eternal in being, pertains absolute and essential beauty, and that is the beauty of goodness, the beauty of holiness. Consider this beauty in its humblest grade, in its narrowest exercise, — consider it in the workings of the simplest heart, in the most lowly home, in the subjugation of self, in thoughtfulness for others, in affections, duties, charities, and piety, — is there any thing within the hollow sphere of heaven, or on the solid globe of earth, so lovely? Is there any dream of the fancy, made visible on canvas, any ecstasy of the heart, made audible in music, that can compare with the grandeur of a good man's virtue, with the joy of a good man's hope? No, for he sees visions which have no pictures for the earthly eye, and he dreams dreams that have no meaning for the earthly ear; and there is a fruition in his virtue, and a rapture in his hope, which the earthly heart does not conceive, and cannot. Yet the best man dares not challenge judgment from his Maker, nor even from his brother. Moral beauty is not complete until you find a character in unison with creation, in unison with the Creator, in unison with humanity, in unison with itself; gentle, yet strong; blameless, yet pitiful; with piety and benevolence perfectly blended in the love of God and the love of man. In such a character as this, we should see our nature, as to feeling, thought, and action, in faultless harmony, perfect in its inward order, perfect in its outward relations. To such a character as this, all beauty around it would be only as an atmosphere, and by the light reflected through it from above, we should behold all things beaming in a clear and celestial lustre. Such a character is that of Jesus. Thence it is, that it is the desire of all nations; thence it is, that he is the light of all ages; thence it is that, as he is lifted up, contemplated, and understood, he will draw all men unto him, attracted to him lovingly, by divine goodness that is in his soul, and by divine beauty that is on his face.

The fact on which we have been commenting implies the *power* of Christ's character. The qualities of this character which we have already noted, as they are elements of power, are elements that endow power with indestructible life, and enlarge more and more the sphere of its exercise. The power which is in the character of Christ — a power incident to its reality and its beauty —

is vital and eternal; the power which goes out from the character of Christ is infinitely inspiring and infinitely expansive. It is a power, therefore, that amidst the transient is not fleeting, and amidst the changing is not mutable; which surrounding warfare does not disturb, which disorders do not confuse, which sin cannot infect, which apostasies cannot unsettle. The reality of Christ's character, out of which come the dominion and durability of its power, is the reality of the highest truth, the highest truth of reason and the highest truth of faith. The senses have their truth, the imagination has its truth, the practical understanding has its truth; but the senses perish with the body, and the imagination varies with culture, and the practical understanding must adapt itself to expediency or circumstances; none of them rise to the everlasting principles of the soul, and to its everlasting relations. The truth in Christ does not exclude the cooperation of the senses, the imagination, the practical understanding, but the origin or the end of its energy is not in them; both in origin and end this truth is *spiritual*. The *beauty* of Christ's character is as spiritual as its *truth*, and it is as spiritually apprehended. Not by the eye of the body, but by the cleared and regenerated eye of the soul, can it be discerned, not to the fancy alive merely to human genius can it be revealed, but to that innate capacity of the immortal heart, which only perfection can satisfy, for which it longs in its wildest mistakes, for which it gropes in its utmost blindness. The order of sentiment to which this beauty is conformable, the class of emotions which the influence of it excites, are those which fit man to aspire after and to enjoy a happiness that belongs only to the deathless attributes and deathless susceptibilities of the human spirit. The goodness which constitutes the beauty of Christ's character is no more a matter of instinct or affection, than the truth which constitutes its reality is a matter of worldly sagacity or temporal experience. It is not as the feeling towards kindred, or to friends, or to companions, or to parties, or to churches; it is not as the feeling with which we regard our country, nay, not even as that more ample charity which makes man an object of our benevolence, only because he is of our species. These, any or all of them, fail to illustrate that goodness, which is not moved

towards humanity in partiality or passion, but embraces it in the whole compass of its undying existence. And although the action of this goodness in *our* characters imparts a measure of its own sacredness to every relation we bear to our kindred, our friends, our country, and our race, it elicits aspirations and desires that go beyond such relations and above them, along the line of endless duration, and up to the mysterious heavens. The power of Christ's character, flowing out as it does from truth and goodness, acting as it does on faith and love, is in no wise similar to the power of this world. The power of Christ's character, as it springs from that which is immortal, acts on that which is immortal. It can neither be conquered nor corrupted. It is not so with the power of this world. Nothing belongs to it that is inward or immortal; the man who is most potent in this world is so not by *himself*, but by his circumstances, — by something that is out from him, rather than *in* him; the sway, too, that he wields, is not *in* men, but *over* men; or if *in* men, only by means of those weaknesses to which none of them would willingly confess. The man who rules by force is outward in his instruments, in his achievements; outward in his influence, and perishable in his aims. Riches are not a man, nor part of a man, — and but the lowest accidents of a man: their power in the world is not small, but it is no power that comes out of a man; it is no power that goes into a man; it comes from the outside of one, it stops on the outside of the other; soon, between the two, it sickens, dies upon the barren space, and finds there its unconsecrated and its unremembered grave. Genius, it is to be acknowledged, is of the man, and in him, and only by the soul does it govern the man it gains; but genius, too, besides being partial and imperfect, has many external limitations, many external obstructions. Immortal truth, immortal goodness, only, can meet the highest conditions of the human spirit: in the life of Christ these were incarnate; in the character of Christ they are eternal. Power went out from his person, as he walked the streets of Jerusalem; but not now dependent on presence or on place, a greater power goes out from his character among men, not for their physical, but their spiritual restoration.

Thus, in respect to its influence, we can set no limits

to this character. All great characters have a force that impels, and yet attracts, but the orbits within which they act are rarely immense, and in the course of time these orbits become gradually contracted. Different from this, the character of Christ is as a central sun in the moral universe of humanity, putting forth its beams constantly to more distant regions, illuminating always an increasing surface, and piercing into its depths with a fertilizing heat. The character of Christ must ever, by its spiritual vitality, be realizing itself, reproducing itself, in the moral history of mankind. It has never been dormant, never wholly without effect, in any age of Christendom; but as thought and culture quicken men's activity and deepen their reflection, as the religious sentiment enters into both, every form of human life will evince the diffusive energy of Jesus in the world. Within the souls of individuals this will be more strongly and more truly felt; and the divine Christ which the Gospels give us will be that from which the spiritual Christ formed in the hearts of men will have being and breath. Such individuals must grow in number and grow in power, — however unseen, however unfelt, they *are* growing in number and growing in power. Taking the view which we do of the moral reality and moral beauty, the truth and goodness, which the character of Christ includes, the law of its influence is certain, and its progressive dominion inevitable. The individuals in whom the character is realized, as they become numerous, if they should never constitute the mass of society, will have no small share in the determination of its character. As the mind which was in Christ Jesus, as the sentiments which were in his heart, shape the inward and outward existence of men and women, in every station and in every employment, the community must, by necessity, exhibit in an aggregate form the improvement of its separate elements. If low, vain, false, dishonest, harsh, proud, cruel passions were overcome in many individual lives; if holy purposes, pure feelings, heavenly tempers, — a conscience strict, but Christian, incorruptible, but not intolerant, — a hatred of all injustice, of all oppression, a love of equal rights, of equal liberties, — fairness of judgment, and largeness of mercy, — if these were profoundly and practically made actual in the spirits of

many, and in their conduct; — if, indeed, it were so even in a few, no community is so dark that they would not enlighten, no community is so dead that they would not awaken. The man would carry the influence of them from his private to his public relations; the influence would go with him from the sheltered hearth to the open market-place, from professional and business activity to political exertion, and from political exertion to the solemnity of legislation. How much of bitter and blind opinion it would break down; how much of hard-hearted habit it would exterminate; how much of ferocious and traditional prejudice it would sweep away; how many bondages it would loosen, how many captives it would free, how many sorrows it would alleviate; how many butcheries it would stop, and in their stead establish brotherly kindness, uprightness, wisdom, and charity! That such results will come from the power of Christ's character, our hope leads us to anticipate; that such have been its results hitherto, and are so now, our faith and history and observation united confirm. But these results will increase and spread; from homes they will spread over neighbourhoods; from neighbourhoods over nations; in nations they will gain force in every church, in every cabinet, in every senate; if they cannot abolish evils, they will lessen them, and if they cannot make earth an image of heaven, they will cause it to be *not* as in so much it is an image of hell. Yes, Christ is, indeed, the miracle of humanity. By what designation more appropriate shall we designate him? He is truly the wonder, as well as the *ideal* of our nature, the exemplar of our practice, — he that rose upon the age with a goodness which nothing in the age inspired; he that had love as embracing, as impartial, as the heavens, when souls were stern and hearts contracted; he that gave to the world the living spirit of God's truth, when scribes not instructed unto the kingdom would enforce the deadly letter of man's tradition; he that spake as none before had ever spoken, yet whose words were plain to childhood; he that looked on guilt with abhorrence, but on the stricken sinner with ineffable compassion; he that lived ever in converse with the unseen, but walked among mortals in all gracious and gentle offices; he that had excellence so endearing, that

we feel him to be our brother, brother of our kindred, brother of our trust, — yet was this excellence so perfect, that in the holy sight of the Creator it was the obedience of a spotless son.

We are now to enter on the second line of observation which we proposed, — from the character of Christ to Christianity, — and to dwell on the *humanity*, merciful, holy, and solemnized, which Christianity derives from the never-ceasing influence of that character.

No other religion has so much of an immaterial sublimity; yet no other is so vital with every simple and home-bred feeling. When we draw around our hearts the associations and influences of Christianity, the very thought of guilt or grossness is strange and startling. God is the pure, the holy, and he is the Spirit to which alone the soul must offer worship. The Gospel, which is the word of Christ, declares this; yet he is the Father also, and, by the same word, so revealed. Even by the most outrageous struggle of imagination, we cannot think of Christ as otherwise than perfect. To recall him to our memory is at once to scatter darkness, passion, and to let into our bosoms a flood of sunshine. There have been many great souls among men; but on which of them do we look with the awe, and yet the love, with which we look on him? There have been many noble books written, but which of them do we read with the same solemnity of thought as that with which we study the records of the New Testament? Whether we regard the Gospel in reference to its views of God, of Christ, of duty, of life, of futurity, its spirituality and sublimity have no parallel. But, with all this, its loving and human adaptations are far more wonderful. The life of Jesus, which forms its centre and its origin, is the body and the being of this truth. Christianity is the only religion which has its principles thus clad in the body and the being of a human exemplar. And in that, what an exemplar has our nature furnished! Take him in his infancy in Bethlehem, — there he is cradled in human affections. Follow him in his whole course of life afterwards, — he is soothing, purifying, expanding, and exalting these affections. His great doctrine — that which he called especially his own — was the supremacy of love; and his whole range of

miracles was but an illustration of how much Heaven was the friend of this doctrine. The resurrection of Lazarus was the consecration of friendship; the water turned into wine, a benediction on the cheerfulness of life; the raising of the widow's son, a tribute to the holiness of parental affection; the restoration of the centurion's servant, a condemnation of national animosity; the feeding of the multitude, a voice of pity for our most lowly wants. And was it not the same *human* spirit which restored the blind to the blessed light, — which gave reason to the tortured brain, — which gave health to the fevered pulse, and the leper back to society and a home? But why refer to the marvellous? It is even more beautifully uttered in his intercourse and his words, — in his blessing upon children, in his kind looks on the unhappy, in his approach to the forsaken, — in every narrative and parable, which is always a story or a picture of Divine mercy or human charity.

The *human* association by which Christianity reveals God to the soul as a Father is in itself a gospel. The power of this idea in worship alone is humanizing, causing it no longer to be the tribute of fear, in the reeking stream and the gasping victim, but the uplifting of cleansed hands, and the free offering of trusting hearts. That truly is a sentiment of immense moral efficacy which familiarizes thoughts of God by uniting them with a primitive affection, which identifies the love of him with the love of goodness, and which consecrates every effort to advance human happiness into an act of homage. Devotional Christianity becomes thus an invigorating life in practical Christianity. The object of the Gospel is not, with a false sublimity, to enthrone God on heights unapproachable to human emotion, but rather to endear him to every pure affection. The theorist may reason on God's existence and attributes; the fanatic may enshroud him in darkness and terror; but it is the benign office of Christianity to make the knowledge of him hope, strength, guidance, and consolation.

A mighty moral efficacy, likewise, resides in the identification which Christ asserts of himself with humanity. Nor is it without import that he commonly illustrates this

relation of himself to our nature by instances taken from among the outcast and the poor. He puts himself in direct opposition to that selfish tendency which repels affinity with the obscure and the suffering, and claims kindred only with the notable, and toils hardly, often meanly, to be among or near to the distinguished. The habits and tendencies of the East — that region of religious isolations, of bigoted exclusiveness, of eternal castes — mark by contrast this broad, liberal, divine amplitude of Christ's humanity with singular and distinctive grandeur. The poor, the sad, the miserable, whom the false worshippers of the true God, and the true worshippers of false gods, held alike away from, were those whom Christ came near to, whose cause and whose concerns he regarded as his own. The hungry, the thirsty, the sick, the imprisoned, — the indigent, in fact, and the forsaken, — the beings of the world without attractive or brilliant accessories, — these were his *little ones*, and his were their interests. And, while we now write with this most beautiful aspect of Christ to our "mind's eye," we have certain matters in the outward forms of our present Christianity brought into view, which chill the exultation and moderate the enthusiasm wherewith we were ready to glory in the effects of this Ideal among the churches. The positive actualities of the things that we have seen, or may see, even in the temples of Jesus, come dampingly on the memory, and teach us the lesson of reserve. The personal luxury, the selfish comfort, — the studied vanity, — the locked-up exclusiveness, — the expense and finery, that bring fashion into prayers, that intensify emulation and pamper pride in the very sphere of prayer, — the gawd and show and display in the Sabbath congregation, that often shame the glitter of the ballet or the ballroom, — these and other appearances, which may be noted in the very sanctuaries of religion, admonish us that the workings of the spirit of Christ are not always to be judged even on the Sunday surface of Christendom. Separations and distinctions are too often all over that surface most offensively manifest. The rich and poor do *not* meet together before the Lord, and a palpable and practical denial is frequently given, before the altar of a common faith, to the doctrine of a common nature.

Still, this identification of Christ with humanity has worked, and does work, blessedly for man. To it we owe much of all that Christianity has achieved on earth. If Christianity, like its author, has gone about doing good; if it has explored every region where man and misery have had existence; if it has made every century and every country venerable with institutions of charity and monuments of piety, — we owe it all to the life which it has drawn from Jesus. The virtues which Christianity especially appreciates are those which show themselves in a gentle humanity. Many of the qualities which paganism dignified as virtues were but stern and resisting passions, and in the moral excellences of Judaism there was much that was austere and antisocial. But those qualities which Christianity respects are such as refine and calm the spirit, — such as render men to each other mutually forbearing and mutually attractive. Cruel things have, no doubt, been done, for which Christian authority has been pleaded; but the very sophistry of persecution has found nothing to sustain it in any trait of the personal character of Christ. But take Christianity with all its faults, it has given a force, a compass, and an elevation to the sentiment of mercy, which almost makes it a new and a positive revelation.

In conclusion, we notice the dignity and solemnity which Christianity imparts to human life. If Christ, when he received the child, caused some wonder to his disciples, it was that they saw not, as he did, the grandeur of its nature infolded in its weakness. That spirit which we observe in his life has been preserved in his religion; and by it, as well as by its author, infancy is embosomed and venerated. Still deeper the interest is, of course, with which it invests the family. There it lays the foundation of its best institutions; there it raises the altar of its truest worship; and there it originates a union, which foreshadows the society of the saints. If from this we go to the world at large, with what reflections must we look out upon its populations! How must we think of its manifold tribes, — how must we gaze upon that awful throng of hundreds of millions of every shade, and spreading from pole to pole! At this instant, many are going to their eternal fate; others

are drawing their first breaths. The throngs of which we are now members are in a few years to be all dead, and to leave their bodies in the dust on which they are walking; and, as the earth rolls on, and as the unaltered sun rises over it and sets, through centuries upon centuries, the drama is repeated, these millions disappear, and other millions, who knew them not, come to replace them! And what are they all? What does Christianity tell us of them? It tells us they are imperishable souls,—and not alone imperishable, but infinitely progressive. Unlike other systems, Christianity does not conceal death,—does not disguise it by a false shroud, but presents it in all its reality; and that awful interest which Christianity alone has created, with which Christianity has invested all objects, arises from the associations of death and immortality which Christianity has thrown around them. As Christianity looks towards the invisible in one direction, and towards Christ in another, to the one with a divine hope, and to the other with a divine faith, she unites memory and anticipation in an interest at once human and infinite. And this we feel when the Christian spirit is in us, wherever Christianity has an institution or a monument. When we are where the Saviour labored and died; when we are where his martyrs preached and bled; when we sit under the ruins of the dark monastic pile, and wander in the solemn cloisters, through which the dim, religious light was wont to stream, and matin and vesper melody to flow; when we pass through the place of tombs, whether the stone be there but of yesterday, or have on it the moss of years, whether the Protestant has inscribed on it a text of Scripture, or the Catholic a pathetic prayer for the peace of the departed; when we linger where religion has had her contests, where she has fought her good fight and kept her faith, be it in the ruins of Rome, be it in Alpine valleys, be it in the plains of France, be it in the library of Wickliffe, in the Patmos of Luther, or in the prison of Servetus,—be it on St. Paul's cross, in the throng of Smithfield, or among the rocks of Scotland,—be it of Romanism for its mass, of Episcopalianism for its mitre, of Puritanism for its independence, of Presbyterianism for its synods;—Christianity has connected them all with human history by

manifestations of the loftiest of human sentiments; it has sublimed them all with the glory of a spiritual desire, or the majesty of an upright conscience. H. G.

Art. V. — EVERETT'S ORATIONS AND SPEECHES.*

The series of Mr. Everett's oratorical triumphs begins with the oration delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa society of Harvard University in 1824, which is the first in the order of his collected discourses as published. To have been present at, and to remember, that occasion, is some consolation for being no longer young. The anniversary exercises of that society are always attractive, and seldom fail in collecting a numerous audience, remarkable for intelligent apprehension and that mysterious and magnetic sympathy which at once kindles and supports a speaker. Around and near the orator, on such occasions, are assembled the elder graduates of the college, to whom years have given gentleness of judgment and tenderness of feeling; before him are the young scholars, fresh from the brooding wing of their Alma Mater, a critical and fastidious audience, intolerant of commonplace, but vividly responsive to every touch of genius; while from the galleries, crowded with graceful and intelligent women, without whose favor neither orator nor poet deems his triumphs complete, that fine feminine influence is rained, which has done so much to purify and elevate the literature of modern times.

But to that particular occasion an element of interest and enthusiasm was added more than commensurate to all the rest. It is only to the younger part of our readers that we need add that that element was the presence of Lafayette, who had landed in the country only about a week before. Generations may pass away before so animating and suggestive a theme is offered to a public speaker as was afforded by the face and form of that admirable person. It was the late Sir Robert Peel, we

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* *Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions.* By Edward Everett. In two volumes. Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo. pp. 670, 674.

believe, who made use of the expression, "the electric shock of a nation's gratitude." And never was the language more appropriate than to the visit of Lafayette. One electric thrill of feeling ran through the whole nation, and vibrated in every breast. To the old men, his contemporaries, his countenance was a renewal of their youth, while to the young he was a visible piece of history, bending with the recollections and associations of the two most eventful revolutions the world has ever seen. The great shades of Washington and Napoleon seemed to be at his side, giving dignity to his expression, and weight to his words. Our people are of an excitable temperament, and much addicted to hero-worship, and the fervor of feeling awakened by the presence of a man who had led so noble and consistent a life, who had done and suffered so much, and who had such immense claims upon our gratitude, was such as can now hardly be recalled by those who partook of it, much less conveyed to others. Young and old, men and women, the city and the country, the cultivated and the ignorant, were all lifted off their feet, and borne along by the irresistible torrent of enthusiastic pride and gratitude. All powerful emotions are levelling in their influence, and before the sweeping flame of that deep-hearted excitement, all ordinary distinctions were melted down, and the whole land spoke in one voice and with one language. The great heart of the nation throbbed with one impulse.

When we say that the presence of Lafayette on such an occasion was a piece of unexampled good-fortune to an orator, we mean, of course, an orator worthy of the opportunity, for to an indifferent speaker it would have been an ordeal to be shunned, and not courted. The dulness of a dull man would have been peculiarly intolerable, for it would have brought down the exalted spirits of the audience, and cooled the glow of their enthusiasm. But in Mr. Everett the society had found a man worthy of the hour. He was at that time, though young in years, a ripe scholar and a good one, with an air and presence full of the consciousness of fresh hopes and unworn energies. His mind had been enriched by diligent study, and by the observation of men and manners, at home and abroad. He was already widely and favorably known, as a scholar and writer who had de-

served well of the rising literature of his country. He had done much, and given assurance of more, and both records and promises attended upon his steps. To these substantial gifts and accomplishments were added the external advantages of an orator; — an expressive countenance; a graceful, though somewhat formal manner; a voice sweet, powerful, and flexible; and an enunciation singularly clear and distinct.

Under these fortunate circumstances, and with these capacities to profit by them, he rose before an audience filling to its utmost capacity the old church in Cambridge, now numbered with the things that were, to deliver the oration upon the Circumstances favorable to the Progress of Literature in America, which occupies the first thirty pages of the first volume of the present publication. As we now have it, it is a production which may be read with unalloyed pleasure, but not always with unqualified assent. There can be but one opinion as to the beauty of the style, the felicity of the allusions, the comprehensive grasp with which the subject is seized and presented, the wide range of reading brought into play, and never violently or pedantically, and the vivid eloquence of particular passages; but upon the soundness of all of its conclusions we may reasonably pause. It is more like the persuasive argument of a brilliant advocate, than the summing up of an impartial judge. The case is stated rather too strongly in favor of the necessary and inevitable connection between popular institutions and a vital and progressive literature. The most zealous republican, if he be candid, must acknowledge that literature may flourish and has flourished under despotic governments, and may languish and has languished under popular institutions, and, indeed, that it is difficult to say of any one political element, that it has been uniformly favorable to literary growth. But, commended as the orator's views then were by his graceful and persuasive delivery, and under the cordial influences of the occasion, he was heard with no misgivings and no dissent. The sympathies of his audience went with him in a rushing stream, as he painted in glowing hues the political, social, and literary future of our country. They drank with thirsty ears his rapid generalizations and his sparkling rhetoric. The whole assembly put on one

countenance of admiration and assent. As, with skilful and flying hand, the orator ran over the chords of national pride and patriotic feeling, every bosom throbbed in unison to his touch; and when the fervid declamation of the concluding paragraph was terminated by the simple pathos of the personal address to Lafayette, his hearers were left in a state of emotion far too deep for tumultuous applause. Tears stood in old men's eyes, and unconsciously streamed down venerable cheeks, and the faces of the young and lovely, touched by light from heaven, became like the faces of angels.

For many years after, Mr. Everett's services were in constant demand for those occasional discourses of which our people are so fond, and he responded to the claims made upon him with untiring industry and invincible good-nature. In this department, he had no rival near the throne, with the single exception of Mr. Webster, whose professional and political engagements rarely permitted him to gratify the public in that way. Wherever he went, he was followed by troops of ardent youths, who gave him large draughts of unqualified admiration, and many of whom paid him the delicate compliment of imitation. We recall, certainly with no complacent sense of superiority for the colder heart of manhood, the boyish enthusiasm with which we ourselves hung upon his accents in those days. He seemed to express and embody our dreams of an accomplished scholar and a finished man. To miss hearing him whenever he addressed the public was an annoyance which arose almost to the dignity of a misfortune. And to this day we confess an incapacity to apply any thing like an impartial judgment to his earlier discourses, because they are so indissolubly associated with all the entrancements and illusions of youth. The fresh gales of the morning blow round us as we read, and the dew of hope lies bright once more upon the untried world. To us there are words between the lines. Faces now unknown on earth throng back upon us, and we listen again to voices long locked in the "rugged cell" of death. In that Nestor-like spirit of disparaging comparison, so apt to come with coming years, we have sometimes asked ourselves, not merely whether there was any one now capable of awakening such enthusiasm in young natures, but whether the feeling itself still survived, —

whether any fairy shapes of enchantment yet lingered in the morning twilight of life, unscared by the invading blaze of "useful knowledge."

But Mr. Everett has no need of any such recollections or associations as these, to magnify the merits of his discourses, whether of an earlier or later growth. They can fairly stand upon their own claims, and meet the test of the most sober criticism; and one of the first considerations which they suggest is the amount of solid work which they represent. Here are no less than eighty-one orations and speeches, some of them, it is true, short, and readily thrown off, but, on the other hand, many of them long, elaborate, and carefully prepared. Now a single occasional discourse, of an hour in length, to be pronounced before a fastidious audience, especially if the speaker have a reputation to maintain, is no light matter. Lord Lyndhurst is reported to have said, on some occasion, that, if any man thought it an easy matter to write a leading article for a daily newspaper in London, he advised him to try. In like manner, if any one thinks it easy to prepare a discourse which shall be adapted to the meridian of a Boston or Cambridge audience, we commend him to make the experiment. But when we come to twenty or thirty of such performances, the task swells into a formidable magnitude and difficulty. If any one were told in early manhood, that, before his death, he should be called upon to write and pronounce eighty-one orations and speeches, we think he would stand aghast at the doom, and pray, by way of commutation of sentence, to be allowed to undertake an epic poem, a history of China, a treatise on conic sections, or an essay on the polarization of light. But all this Mr. Everett has done in the course of some twenty-five years. And even this substantial result represents but a part of his intellectual activity; for during this period he was either a professor in Harvard University, or a representative in Congress, or Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, or Minister of the United States in Great Britain, and in all these places distinguished for the faithful discharge of every trust, and the conscientious performance of every duty. Consistent and continuous industry we hold to be one of the rarest of virtues; and among the few who have come within the range of our

own personal observation whom we deem entitled to be called truly industrious men, and we think we could count them upon the fingers of our two hands, Mr. Everett is entitled to a high place. In him we observe that almost passionate love of labor which characterized Cicero, Sir William Jones, Burke, and Cuvier.

Various as are these discourses in their subjects, and in the occasions that produced them, they all bear a decided family likeness. The style is always finished, graceful, and flexible; a style of transparent polish, so carefully wrought that the carefulness is rarely apparent and never offensive; a style penetrated with the perfume of sound scholarship and fine taste. Though an elaborate, it is an honest style; that is, it is the natural utterance of a mind so vigilant, so observant, so meditative, so richly stored with knowledge so various, a memory so retentive and a taste so fastidious, that he could hardly write otherwise than he does. Indeed, a man's style is a part of his mind, just as his movements and the tones of his voice are a part of his bodily presence, and enter into our conceptions of his personal identity. If we would have him write in a different way, we must have him a different man. It is true that we do not find in Mr. Everett's writings careless defects redeemed by careless graces; nor homely idiomatic directness; nor epigrammatic point; nor that picturesque mosaic which is made up of chips of aphorism and crystals of poetry; nor those terse and racy expressions which take the wings of proverbs and fly over the land; nor those inimitable felicities of phrase which dart from the heart of genius like lightning from the cloud. He does not write like Cobbett, or Carlyle, or Emerson, or Franklin, or Sydney Smith. In short, he writes in the style in which he was born to write, and he has not lost any of the legitimate advantages to which he was entitled in aiming at those to which he had no natural claim. Many, as a matter of taste, doubtless prefer a more undress style, and in efforts of a business-like character, where there is a definite object proposed, as in arguments to a jury or legislative debates, we should certainly advise a rougher and plainer way of presenting the subject. But it should be borne in mind that the occasions which gave birth to these discourses were ceremonial occasions, in which the thoughts are expected to appear in full dress.

And this leads us to mention a peculiar disadvantage to which all speeches are exposed, when they come to be printed, and for which a fair allowance should be made by the spirit of candid criticism. Among the poems of Emerson there is one of much beauty and originality, (and we may add, for the benefit of all "outside barbarians," that it is easy to be understood,) called "Each and All," in which the poet represents himself as walking on the sea-shore, and so charmed with the beauty of the shells that he gathered them up and brought them home; but he could not bring with him the scene of which they were a part.

> "And the poor, unsightly, noisome things
> Had left their beauty on the shore,
> With the sun and the wind and the wild uproar."

So, when a speech is printed, you cannot print with it the speaker's looks and tones, which commended what was good, and excused what was not good, nor the erected spirits of the audience, so ready to favor and so slow to censure. To read in cold blood what we have listened to under the contagious influence of an enthusiastic audience is like going into a ball-room the morning after the ball. Mr. Fox is reported to have said, that, if a speech read well, it was not a good speech. We are not inclined to assent to a remark which passes an unfavorable judgment alike upon the orations of Demosthenes and the arguments of Webster, and yet it is not so much untrue as an over-statement of the truth. A speech may be a good speech and yet not read well. Whenever an audience is addressed by a speaker, no matter what the occasion may be, his first object is to convince, persuade, or delight, and the moment he has ceased to speak, his end has or has not been accomplished. If he fail in this, no merits of style or thought can do any thing more than plead in mitigation of sentence. If, besides this the primal aim of a speech, it can also secure the cold approbation of the closet, it has gained a distinction such as has been seldom bestowed upon any man's efforts. Even the profound and philosophical discourses of Burke were heard with impatience by an inattentive audience. These considerations should be borne in mind in estimating the merit of Mr. Everett's discourses. They were written first for the ear, and only secondly for the eye, and the

first question to be asked is, whether they have the qualities essential to a performance which is to be spoken and listened to, and which will at once arrest the attention of an audience and keep it fixed to the end. In point of fact, we know that Mr. Everett's success in this respect has been triumphant. When he speaks, no man yawns, or fidgets on his seat, or looks at the clock, or whispers to his neighbour, or reads the hymn-book. As was said by Ben Jonson of Bacon, "the fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end."

We notice another element common to all of Mr. Everett's discourses. Though they were pronounced upon a great variety of occasions, — though the treatment varies with the occasion, — though the form is sometimes grave, sometimes familiar, sometimes narrative, and often rhetorical, — yet there is in all a certain propriety of movement and dignity of manner. We recognize in all a just tone of sentiment, a pervading vein of good sense, a correct moral standard, and a uniform right-mindedness. We find no love of paradox, and no wandering away from the natural course of the subject in search of the startling or grotesque. None of the discourses are strongly marked by originality of conception, and yet none are commonplace. There is always a freshness in the flow of thought, and a vital unity in the manner in which the subject is presented and developed. Mr. Everett would probably have been called a deeper thinker had he been a less consummate artist; had he been more willing to dogmatize and to refine, — to speculate and to theorize, — to dazzle by the play of ingenious fancies rather than to enlighten by the plain daylight of good sense. For a man of such varied powers and accomplishments, he is also remarkably free from intellectual pretensions. His mind is as modest as it is rich. He abstains from strong statements, vehement assertions, and positive declarations. Indeed, this merit is at times carried too far. His tone is sometimes unnecessarily cautious and qualifying, and might have been improved by a somewhat stronger infusion of hardihood and self-reliance. It is, perhaps, negative praise to say of a collection like this that it contains nothing to which exception can be taken, and yet we hold it to be no trivial excellence. Here are some thirteen hundred octavo pages, and none of them defaced

by bad temper or bad taste. We find no ventilation of national or personal prejudices, no obtrusion of historical or literary crotchets, no fierce and vindictive patriotism, no flippant handling of grave matters, no trifling with solemn themes, nothing affected, nothing vulgar, nothing irreverent. This is not merely the result of superficial good taste, but of an essential decorum of mind, and an unerring sense of propriety.

Mr. Everett is sometimes spoken of as if he were exclusively or mainly a rhetorician, and as if his great merit lay in the garb and decorations of his thoughts. But this is by no means a fair statement of his claims. In his younger days he had a strong tendency to ornamental writing. This is a trait common to all young men in our country who have any thing of the poetical temperament, and our average style is marked by an excess of embellishment and illustration. A man, with us, who has got through his rhetoric, is to be congratulated like a boy who has got through his measles. Mr. Everett's rhetoric is good of its kind. It is rich, animated, and glowing, but it does not always escape the faults of amplification and over-statement, and sometimes the brilliancy of the coloring withdraws the attention from the looseness of the texture. But mere rhetoric, by which we mean commonplace conceptions clothed in swelling and glittering phraseology, which may be more properly called fine writing, and is carefully to be distinguished from the eloquence of passion, is a cheap and trivial thing, and is by no means the prominent characteristic of any thing that Mr. Everett has done. In the most glowing and exuberant of his discourses, the rhetorical passages rise naturally from a substantial foundation of solid thinking. Take, for instance, the oration on the first settlement of New England, delivered at Plymouth, December 22, 1824, which is a fair specimen of what may be called his early manner. The style is rich and animated, but also manly and weighty. The reflections are just, pertinent, and striking; the historical learning is appropriately and gracefully introduced; the favorable elements in the first settlement of New England are most felicitously pointed out; the eulogium of the Pilgrim fathers is temperate, discriminating, and by no means overcharged, and the tribute to England is of exquisite beauty. The whole tone

of this admirable discourse is wise, calm, and statesmanlike, and the style never overloaded with ornament nor stiff with superfluous learning.

Mr. Everett's is an historical mind. He has read history carefully and thoughtfully, and most of his discourses show the benefit of these studies. In this mood, we follow him with peculiar pleasure. We honor that grave and judicial turn of mind, which has come from a knowledge of the changes of time and the whirl of revolution. We respect that strain of tempered pathos, so natural to one who, in the spirit of a generous sympathy, has watched the struggles and sufferings of the great human family, and studied the solemn epic of humanity. His narrative style is picturesque, flowing, and easy, and his biographical sketches uncommonly graceful and animated. How rapidly and vividly, in his oration delivered at Concord, April 19, 1825, he recounts the stirring events which had taken place, in sight of where his hearers sit, fifty years before! What fresh and admirable delineations he has given us of the youth of Washington and of Franklin, the latter in a discourse which is now for the first time published. How full of simple and quiet interest are the anecdotes of early local history contained in a lecture delivered before the Massachusetts Historical Society, now, also, first published. How rich in curious information respecting the history of the manufacturing industry of the country is the address before the American Institute of the City of New York, a production in other respects of much value for its statesmanlike views, and its sound notions of political economy. As a specimen of the ability with which Mr. Everett deals with historical subjects, and of his happy style of historical illustration, we quote a passage from some brief remarks made by him on the departure of the Pilgrims, at an anniversary dinner, commemorative of that occasion, at Plymouth, on the 17th of September, 1849.

"You have instructed and delighted us, Sir,* by sketching in the most luminous manner the intellectual condition of England, and the leading minds which adorned and guided it at the period of the Pilgrim emigration. Allow me, for a moment, to pass to the Continent, and specifically to compare the enterprise of the

* Mr. Webster, who presided on the occasion.

Pilgrims with that great movement in Protestant Germany, which commenced at the same time, and which, at the time, was regarded, not merely by the incurious world, but by the friends of Protestant liberty, as beyond all proportion the more important movement. Curious it is to reflect that, while the tale of the Pilgrims has, in the course of two centuries, taken its place among the few great legends of humanity which are known throughout the world, from the throne to the cottage, the history of the Thirty Years' war must be studied in learned volumes on the shelves of libraries, and for the most part, as far as concerns us, in foreign tongues. This comparison will show us how difficult it is to correct great abuses in old countries by means of violent revolutions, and will satisfy us that it was the peculiar good fortune of the Pilgrims that they were called to operate on an humble scale, with the inoffensive weapons of personal sacrifice and moral influence. Whenever the great work is taken up by politicians and agitators, by statesmen and heroes, it seems of necessity to fail. The mighty traditions of ages then present their unyielding front, and interests closely twined round the very fibres of society are felt, or feared, to be in danger. Parties are created, passions enkindled; and soon the purest causes, infected with the poison of human policy and intrigue, decline and die away. The English Revolution of 1688 was an exception, purchased, however, by the miscarriages of half a century. Our own Revolution was a still more brilliant exception; and they stand nearly alone in history.

"The first steps of the exiles at Leyden, towards realizing their project of emigration, were taken in 1618, and in this same year the first movements of the dreadful Thirty Years' war began among the Protestants in Germany. The one was the affair of a handful of persecuted religionists; the other drew into its vortex nearly all the great powers of Europe. The purpose of the Pilgrims was known but to themselves; to a few of their brethren of the faith in England; and to half a dozen great personages about court, most of whom bestowed upon it a supercilious and uncertain patronage. The movement in Germany kindled the sympathies and awoke the passions of every court and people, from London to Constantinople. It was really much the same state of things as that which has existed during the last twelvemonth; a similar contest, on nearly the same battle-fields, and for objects not materially different. It is interesting to see how little there is in the Old World that is positively new under the sun. The colossal intervention of Russia, a power not possessed of a European existence two centuries ago, is the only quite novel feature in the recent contests. Hume tells us, that when the news reached England that the

Elector Palatine (the son-in-law of James I.) was chosen king of Bohemia by the Protestants of that country, just rushing into a war with Ferdinand of Austria, 'the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarcely was the ardor greater with which all the states of Europe, in former ages, flew to the rescue of the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidels.' Singularly enough, the feeble sect to which the Pilgrims belonged took an especial interest in these outlandish wars. The daughter of King James — wife to the Elector Palatine — was believed to favor their religious opinions. Worthy Mr. Prince, in his New England Chronology, which he judiciously commences with the creation of Adam, speaks of the excellent queen of Bohemia 'as the darling of the British Puritans.' The first great trial of arms, in this tremendous war, was the battle of Prague, which was fought on the 8th of November, 1620;* and Cape Cod was seen from the Mayflower on the following day. Two centuries and a quarter have passed away; I will not say that the cause of constitutional and religious liberty still stands exactly where it then did on the continent of Europe; but I should be sorry to be called upon to spell out its progress from the manifestoes of the Red Republicans in France, which teach us that 'property is theft,' or from the bulletins of General Oudinot, of Marshal Radetzky, or Prince Paskievitch. Two centuries and a quarter have passed away. Every generation has had its bloody wars; almost every generation has had its unfruitful revolution; and the division lines between liberty and absolutism, on the continent of Europe, run very nearly as they did then. I do not know, upon the whole, that we rise from the perusal of the intelligence from the other side of the Atlantic, brought by the last steamer, with better hopes for the cause of representative free government in that region than were entertained when the battle of Prague was fought and lost, the day before the first glimmer of the snow-clad sands of Cape Cod was caught by the aching and tearful eyes of the Mayflower's company. I believe, Sir, I may say, without extravagance, that the greatest triumph of constitutional liberty since that time has been its peaceful growth in this country. Less was lost on that disastrous day, when an army of Protestants was crushed beneath the walls of Prague, in the sight of the royal lady who was 'the darling of the British Puritans,' than was gained the next day, when that poor weatherbeaten bark crept round the point of Provincetown harbour, and dropped her anchor on the coast of America. May I not add, that more was gained for the cause of real republicanism, when plain John Carver was, by

* Rapin's *History of England*, Vol. II. p. 200.

the choice of his associates, seated in that still plainer oaken chair, which we have sometimes seen at these Pilgrim festivals, than when the throne of Louis Philippe, blazing with scarlet and gold, was carried off in triumph from the Tuileries, and burned on the public square, by a famished Parisian mob, whose ideas of republicanism, if we may judge from the events of the last sixty years, are as definite as a blind man's ideas of color?" — Vol. II. pp. 641 – 644.

We observe, also, in these discourses, marks of another valuable intellectual trait, which we may call a proper respect for common things, and a willingness to look at objects in detail as well as in the aggregate. This is, indeed, but another manifestation of that invincible industry of which we have before spoken. But even industry has its likings and dislikings. Scholars are apt to turn away in distaste from the homely goings-on of daily life, — from the corn in the field, the iron on the anvil, the wool in the factory, the fire in the furnace. Men, too, who are capable of wide generalizations, are often impatient of details, and too eager to escape from the thraldom of particulars. But Mr. Everett's mind, in this respect, is of a healthy and manly tone. He has no distaste for the plain surface of daily life. He comprehends and sympathizes with that large portion of the human family which never writes books, and rarely reads them. Few men have studied more carefully, or understood more thoroughly, the industrial resources of the country, than he. He handles a question of political economy with clearness and ability, and makes it attractive by the beauty of his style and the felicity of his illustrations. He has a happy power of idealizing the real; in other words, a power of presenting dry details and ordinary facts in an engaging form, so as to commend them to the attention of those fastidious readers whose understandings can only be approached through their tastes. In his treatment of this class of subjects he is also aided by a vein of graceful humor, a faculty which we suspect to be rather strong in him by nature, though under such stern control as to be rarely manifested. Illustrations of Mr. Everett's powers in these respects may be found in the address before the American Institute, to which we have before alluded, in his speech on the Western Rail-

road, delivered in Fanueil Hall on the 7th of October, 1835, and in the oration delivered at Lowell on the 5th of July, 1830.

Some sixty pages of the second volume are occupied by the complimentary speeches made on various occasions, — scientific, literary, or festive, — in England, while Mr. Everett was Minister of the United States in that country. To do these things well is no easy matter. A decent respect for the courtesies of life forbids the expression of opinions which are not those of the hearers, however conscientiously they may be entertained by the speaker himself. In the giving and receiving of social attentions, there is an implied contract that nothing shall be said which either party can desire to forget. And, on the other hand, good taste and self-respect require that the strain of compliment, so inevitably induced by the heart-expanding influences of the occasion, shall not be carried too far. Between these difficulties Mr. Everett steers with singular adroitness and tact, and his success may be pronounced absolutely perfect. Indeed, in what may be called post-prandial eloquence, Mr. Everett has no rival. Some men speak appropriately at such times, but boldly, roughly, and ungracefully; others, speaking from previous preparation, make neat and finished observations which have no particular relation to the occasion, and fill the room with a strong smell of the lamp. Mr. Everett is both graceful and appropriate. His words drop from his lips with the finish and beauty of coins from the mint, and yet they have the freshness and charm of conversation. They seem to have been suggested by something which had at that moment caught his eye, or fallen upon his ear.

In another point of view, we are glad that these speeches have been made, and that they are here preserved. They are the expressions of kindly feeling towards one great nation on the part of the representative of another great nation. We contemplate with peculiar pleasure every influence which tends to perpetuate the "mood of peace" between our land and the land of our fathers, and that these very speeches have had that tendency, to some extent, we have no doubt. Few persons who have not been in Europe can have any notion of the consideration which is there enjoyed by ambassadors

and ministers. They embody in their persons the power and dignity of the countries which they represent. No word spoken by them in public falls to the ground. The presence of Mr. Everett in England, and the generous, catholic, and enlightened sentiments which he expressed on all fitting occasions, have been no inconsiderable element in that favorable change which for some years past has been going on in the minds of the English nation towards our country. No thoughtful Englishman could help drawing an inference friendly to institutions under the fostering care of which so finished a man had been reared. We happen to have personal knowledge of the very great respect with which Mr. Everett is remembered in England. From a people not impressible, the reverse of enthusiastic, not moving together from one contagious influence, sharply though silently observant of defects, and not kindly-affectioned towards natives of other countries, he has extorted a degree of admiration which does honor to them as well as to him.

The first volume of the work we have under consideration was published in 1836, and a considerable portion of its contents was the growth of an earlier period still. In the course of fifteen or twenty years, changes naturally take place in the judgment and the taste, and we condemn what we formerly admired. What we thought fine, we now feel to be tawdry, and the flowers of rhetoric, which we once so carefully wrought into the web of our discourse, we now perceive to be flaunting weeds. Mr. Everett's earlier discourses doubtless find at the present moment, in his manly and ripened taste, a sterner judgment than they will anywhere else encounter; at least, we so infer from the candid avowal contained in a paragraph from the preface to the present edition.

"In revising the earlier compositions in this collection for the present edition, I have applied the pruning-knife freely to the style. This operation might have been carried still farther with advantage; for I feel them to be still deficient in that simplicity which is the first merit in writings of this class. When I was at college, the English authors most read and admired, at least by me, and I believe generally by my contemporaries, were Johnson, Gibbon, and Burke. I yielded myself with boyish enthusiasm to their irresistible fascination. But the stately antithesis,

the unvarying magnificence, and the boundless wealth of diction of these great masters, amply sustained in them by their learning, their power of thought, and weight of authority, are too apt, on the part of youthful imitators, to degenerate into ambitious wordiness." — pp. vii., viii.

Our own familiarity with Mr. Everett's earlier discourses enables us to verify the accuracy of this statement. We see frequent traces of the "pruning-knife," and our judgment commends the use which has been made of it, though the force of old associations would have pleaded earnestly in behalf of some of the ornaments which have been lopped off. A change in the paragraphs which, in our boyish days, we were accustomed to commit to memory and declaim, is like a change in the hymn we learned at a mother's knee. It may be for the better, but a voice of remonstrance pleads against it, from a region deeper than that in which the critical judgment holds its court. The heart has its tastes as well as the mind, and that which its fibres have once grown round cannot be disturbed without a throb of protest.

From the same preface, we also make a more copious extract, in explanation and defence of the charge of undue nationality which had been brought against some of the earlier discourses.

"An objection has been taken to some of the earlier patriotic orations contained in this collection, as too strongly eulogistic of this country. On this point I can only plead that every thing said by me, to which this objection may be supposed to apply, has been said in good faith. The earlier orations were delivered not long after my return from a residence of four or five years in Europe, principally on the Continent. The last country visited by me was Greece, at that time subject to the Turkish yoke, but fermenting with the discontents which soon broke out in revolution. In Italy, France, and Germany, the restored bureaucracy of the old *régime* was everywhere in force, and felt with great impatience in the literary and social circles in which my acquaintance principally lay. In England, the liberal ideas and principles embodied in the legislation of the last twenty-five years were still matters of doubtful debate. There was, at the same time, on the part of the literary and political journals of highest repute, (not excepting those whose general principles, it should seem, would have dictated a different course,) a tone of unfriendliness and disparagement towards the United States; far less frequently manifested, I am happy to say, at the present day.

"Returning with deep impressions produced by this state of things, I was charged for four years with the editorship of the North American Review. This placed me, almost of necessity, in the position of a champion, and led me to contemplate some national questions very much in a polemical point of view. Traces of this may be found in some of the addresses contained in the present collection. In reference to great principles, I do not find that the feelings under which I wrote, heightened as they were by the ardor of youth, led me to maintain opinions which, after the lapse of twenty-five eventful years, require to be qualified. But I am free to confess, that there is occasionally an exaggerated nationality in the tone with which principles, correct in themselves, are stated, which does not now appear to me in the best taste.

"It has also been objected to the manner in which some topics in American history are treated in these addresses, that it runs into overstrained sentiment. I am aware that there is danger of falling into this fault in orations for the Fourth of July and other great popular festivals. But it ought not to be forgotten that a somewhat peculiar state of things existed among us twenty or thirty years ago, calculated to give the character in question to the fugitive literature of the day. The great rapidity with which the United States had grown up since the declaration of independence had given that kind of importance to recent events, — that hold upon the imagination, — which, in a slower march of things, can usually be the result of nothing but a lapse of centuries. There were still lingering among us distinguished leaders of the Revolutionary struggle. Our heroic age was historical, was prolonged even into the present time; and the present and the historical consequently acquired something of the interest of the heroic past. Amidst all the hard realities of the present day, we beheld some of the bold barons of our Runnymede face to face. This tended to lift events from the level of dry matter of fact into the region of sentiment. Other circumstances — some of them incidents of this state of things — exerted a powerful influence in the same direction. Such were the fusion of the old political parties that commenced soon after the peace of 1815; the expiration, in 1820, of the second century from the landing at Plymouth, and in 1830, the like event in reference to Massachusetts; — great eras these for the whole New England race! — the passage of several laws by Congress, pensioning the survivors of the Revolutionary army; the visit of Lafayette in 1824; the commemoration, the following year, of the half-century from the breaking out of the Revolutionary war; the commencement of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1825; and the simultaneous death of Adams and Jefferson on the 4th of July, 1826.

These, and some similar occurrences, were well adapted to excite the minds of youthful writers and speakers, and to give a complexion to their thoughts and style. They produced, if I mistake not, in the community at large, a feeling of comprehensive patriotism, which I fear has, in a considerable degree, passed away. While it lasted, it prompted a strain of sentiment which does not now, as it seems to me, find a cordial response from the people in any part of the country. Awakened from the pleasing visions of former years by the fierce recriminations and dark forebodings of the present day, I experience the feelings of the ancient dreamer, when cured of his harmless delusions: —

> 'Me occidistis, amici,
> Non servastis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas,
> Et demtus per vim mentis gratissimus error.'"
>
> —pp. viii. – xi.

These observations will be admitted by every candid reader to be conceived in a manly and generous spirit, and to be entitled to much weight, in way of justification, with those who think that there is any thing which needed to be justified or defended. We admit that the charge is to some extent not without foundation, or, to state our objections with more precision, we think that the tone of some of the earlier patriotic discourses expresses too much confidence in the power of popular institutions, of themselves and by their own inherent force, to lead to national happiness and well-being, and that the language of pride and exultation is not sufficiently tempered with that of warning and admonition. To the marked nationality of Mr. Everett's mind we not only have nothing to object, but we heartily respond to and sympathize with it. We are not yet inclined to give up the old-fashioned virtue of patriotism, because cruelty and violence and the lust of power have so often usurped its name and counterfeited its voice. We recoil instinctively from those fantastic cosmopolites, who acknowledge no peculiar love for the land which gave them birth. We like the man who is keenly sensitive to the honor and the shame of his country, — who hangs his head when her glory is tarnished, — who burns with indignation when she is wronged, and brightens in the sunshine of her happiness and prosperity. And when we recall the contemptuous and insulting language which, at no very distant period, was used by so many

of the organs of public sentiment in Europe towards our country and its institutions, we cannot condemn, nay, we rather applaud, the attitude of manly resistance which it called forth. We owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Everett, for the beauty and eloquence with which he has, on so many occasions, unfolded the two great facts in our history, — the first settlement of the country and the Revolutionary struggle. No man has studied more deeply, or comprehends more clearly, the history and causes of those movements, and the lives and characters of the illustrious men who guided them. In this view, we commend these discourses to the young men of our country, as important helps to the proper understanding of the Pilgrim fathers and the leaders of the Revolution; men in whom the elements of character were similar, though the proportions in which they were combined were not identical, and the record of whose simple and heroic virtues is one of the noblest inheritances that the past has ever bequeathed to the present. These men, these periods, these subjects, Mr. Everett has discussed with minute knowledge, with genuine feeling, with philosophical insight, and in a strain of fervent, but sincere and not exaggerated, eulogium. It is the duty of the scholars of a country to create and cherish a just and high tone of national feeling; and this Mr. Everett has done in his patriotic discourses; for they teach and inspire those sentiments which are the salient fountains of national happiness and prosperity. Indeed, we have always looked upon Mr. Everett as approaching more nearly than any other person we know to the ideal of an American scholar. His knowledge of the past has not made him indifferent to the present and the future. His love of books has not chilled his interest in the actual realities of life. His mind has not moved in remote regions which lie in that soft, ideal light, so dear to the intellectual voluptuary. He has not shrunk from the homely earth and the open day. Bunker Hill has been to him a more magic word than Marathon. His learning has borne a practical stamp. The stream of living life has flowed through his mind, and made it productive of such harvests as the times have need of. To make the history of his country attractive, to inspire a deeper veneration for its great men, to develop its

industrial resources, to draw from the past lessons for the guidance of the future, to awaken a thoughtful and generous patriotism, to call the attention of scholars to native virtues and home-born worth, to teach our young men that lives better than Plutarch's are lying at their feet, — these are the ends to which his powers and his attainments have been devoted; and as the ends were noble, so has his success been triumphant.*

The question has often been asked by the admirers of Mr. Everett, — perhaps in moments of self-distrust he has asked it of himself, — whether the time given to these occasional efforts might not have been better bestowed upon some continuous and elaborate work. Without doubt, had his object been merely literary fame, he might have secured a large measure of it, if, during the last thirty years, he had dedicated himself exclusively to literary pursuits; for no one can doubt that, with his powers, the highest success in history, biography, or literary research was open to him. But that is not exactly the question. It is, whether, a different sphere of action having been deliberately selected, the exact hours which have been spent in preparing these discourses could have been employed more wisely for himself, and more happily for others, in the composition of a single work; and upon this point we confess that we feel great doubts. For be it remembered that these discourses, numerous as they are, are the incidental products of a busy life, — the growth of hours in which some men are idle and others are asleep, and which, even in Mr. Everett's case, might have been unoccupied but for the pressing spur of an inevitable occasion. The

* In this connection, we cannot refrain from commending, in the warmest terms, Mr. Everett's latest production, an oration delivered at Charlestown on the 17th of June of this year, which we regret to see is not contained in the present collection. It is a performance of great merit, full of admirable historical teaching, throwing fresh interest over familiar themes, and written in a style of ripe and manly beauty. Nothing proves more strikingly the vigor and fertility of Mr. Everett's mind, than that, after having written so much upon the subjects appropriate to such an occasion, he should be able to treat them once more with all the spirit and vivacity of a young man's first impressions, and with all the wisdom of long observation and varied experience. This discourse is really a work of high art. The unity of the subject is most happily preserved, the successive portions follow each other in the natural order, the law of symmetry and proportion is everywhere observed, and over the whole is thrown a serene atmosphere of calm wisdom and moral dignity.

alternative, too, supposes that all these finished orations should not only never have been written, but never have been spoken, that no audience should ever have hung upon his lips, and that his remarkable powers of deliberative eloquence should have been unexercised. Who would blot from the past those glowing hours, those thrilling tones, those rapt and listening countenances? In summing up the account, let it also be borne in mind that the standard of excellence which Mr. Everett has held up in these discourses has had its effect upon all who have followed him in the same path. His influence is felt by every man who now comes before an audience with a prepared performance.

In general, too, the case is apt to be too strongly stated in favor of elaborate and voluminous works, and occasional and fugitive performances are treated with an unworthy disparagement. It would be a doubtful benefit, if every man of letters felt himself bound to shut himself up in his study, and, after twenty years' incubation, come out with a brood of six or eight octavos.

Honor to the men who write learned and massive books, — the great three-deckers of literature, — but no dishonor to those who write eloquent orations, original and suggestive essays, and wise and witty pamphlets. In choosing his department of literary effort, a man must be guided by his powers, his temperament, his position, and his opportunities. There is no one rule for all. In looking back upon the past, all will admit Addison to be a commensurate name with Hume, and Burke with Gibbon. In our own times, we may fairly oppose Jeffrey to Tytler, Mackintosh to Turner, and Sydney Smith to Alison. In our own country, Channing and Emerson are names not likely to be soon forgotten, and were the Sketch-Book and the Life of Columbus thrown into the fire, we think that nine readers out of ten would first lay a rescuing hand upon the Sketch-Book.

In the concluding paragraph of the preface to the present edition, Mr. Everett informs us that he has in preparation a systematic treatise on the modern law of nations. We shall wait with impatience for such a work from his hands. With his attainments and experience, his various learning, and his practical acquaintance with public life, he cannot fail to produce a treatise

of great and permanent value. But in the mean time, we receive with grateful acknowledgment what he has already done for the literature and history of his country. These discourses, though written for occasional purposes, have an element of vitality, and will not join that great hecatomb of pamphlets, the smoke of which is for ever ascending. They will be read with delight long after the generation that heard them shall have passed away, and when the old men that "lag superfluous on the stage" shall check the enthusiasm of the young by saying, "What would you have said, if, like us, you had heard him?" G. S. H.

Art. VI. — THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW ON HUNGARY.*

It is a little more than a year since tidings of the surrender of Görgey, and the consequent prostration of the Hungarian cause, reached the United States. This news of the destruction of the hopes of a brave and generous nation was received with different degrees of sympathy, according to the different views which had been entertained of the contest that preceded it. While some saw in the resistance of Hungary a new assertion of the rights of humanity, a new struggle between the powers of darkness and light, others regarded it merely as one more assault on the established order of things by the revolutionizing spirit of the age. There were not, indeed, wanting those who, having given a somewhat more careful attention to the facts, asserted that the cause of Hungary was not only that of justice, but of law; that, in bringing their plea before the tribunal of the world, the Hungarians were not forced to fall back upon the natural rights of man, but could appeal to constitutional rights, solemnly and repeatedly recognized and confirmed. But, for the most part, feeling rather than knowledge dictated the judgments which were passed upon the war, and the sentiments with which its close

* 1. *North American Review*, January, 1850. "*The War of Races.*"
2. *North American Review*, April, 1850. "*The Politics of Europe.*"

was regarded. The generous and high-spirited, following the impulse of their nature, took part with the brave and unfortunate, while the selfish and cautious, guided also by their instinct, ranged themselves on the side of power and success. But few persons, perhaps, had searched narrowly into the causes, immediate and remote, of the recent war, or were acquainted in detail with the objects of either party. But there were none, whether professing conservative or liberal principles, who entertained a doubt, that, of the parties to this war, Austria represented the stationary system and Hungary the cause of progress.

The class of ultra conservatives in this country is small. There were few, therefore, of those who spare a thought from their own personal concerns to bestow it on the interests of the rest of the world, who did not sympathize more or less with this brave nation in its struggle. There were few, of those who observed this struggle in its details, who did not feel a lively admiration for a people who united the heroism and self-devotion of a past age to the persistent energy and practical good sense of the nineteenth century; who, in the midst of the terrors of an invasion, introduced into their country new branches of manufacture, establishing founderies and forges, and, under the inspiration of patriotism, acquiring skill in mechanic arts, from whose exercise the jealousy of their foreign rulers had hitherto excluded them.

But the war was ended; the excitement of the eager watching for its events had subsided; the enthusiasm which every new report of victory had called forth, expired for want of food. The Hungarians were now destined to share the common fate of the unsuccessful. The friendship of their well-wishers was to be tried by the severest of all tests, that of adverse fortune. Those who had shouted in their honor, merely because they heard others shout, were now silent. With the many, admiration was rapidly fading into compassion. It was in this calm that voices which had before been lost amid the general acclamation began to make themselves heard. Reflections on the wisdom and ability of the leaders of the Hungarian movement, slanderous tales levelled at their private character, and, finally, doubts as to the nature of the movement itself and the degree in

which it could lay claim to the sympathy of other nations, began to find their way from the European journals into our own. These fugitive calumnies, vague in their nature and resting on no certain authority, did not, indeed, produce any deep impression; but they scattered the seeds of doubt, and tended to increase the desire which was already felt for more full and exact information. With some, it was merely a question of historic truth; with others it was a matter of warm, living interest. The exiled patriots of Hungary would seek an asylum on our shores; they were to be the guests, perhaps the future fellow-citizens, of the people of the United States; there were many who had bound their sympathies to the cause of the Hungarians with an instinctive confidence, who wished, not merely to extend the hand of greeting, but to plead their cause with others, and desired to have a reason for the faith that was in them.

It was at this period that an article appeared in one of the most influential periodicals in this country, which purported to offer a candid and careful exposition of the case. This article had been looked for before its publication with a certain degree of expectation. Some portions of it had been delivered in the form of a lecture at a lyceum meeting, and rumor, founded on the reports of those who had been present, accused the lecturer of having done injustice to the Hungarians, and of having received with too little caution the charges put forth against them by ill-informed or interested writers on the other side of the Atlantic. The author, — the editor of the North American Review, — in a letter addressed to one of the daily papers in Boston, repelled these accusations, and gave to the public, over his own signature, the assurance that a great amount of "labor and research" had been bestowed on the preparation of this article. It was remarked, however, that the writer did not include, among the qualifications that fitted him to be the expositor of the affairs of Hungary, that of a long and intimate acquaintance with his subject. He did not claim to have paid, previously to the breaking out of hostilities, such an attention to the condition and prospects of that country, or to have had such an acquaintance with its history and politics, as could enable him to follow the course of events with a clearer insight, or to pronounce

on the causes and objects of the war with a more assured judgment, than could be pretended to by one to whom the subject was new. On the contrary, he avowed that his studies were first turned in this direction when he began the preparation of the article in question; he had at that time no opinions on the subject, but prejudices only; these prejudices were the reverse of those subsequently attributed to him, and the purpose he had in view when he undertook the writing of his essay was very different from that which developed itself in the course of its execution. "I had shared," he says, "the common enthusiasm in relation to the war, and had come to the study of its causes with a mind strongly prepossessed in favor of the Magyars, and fully expecting to find their cause was as honorable as was that of our fathers in our own memorable struggle for independence. Several of my friends can vouch, from conversations held at the time, that such was my preconceived opinion, and that I began to study and to write in the hope of doing a little to increase the ardor of public feeling in favor of Hungary." *

To examine into and pronounce upon a question of so much importance, with the professed object of guiding by his judgment that of his fellow-countrymen, was, assuredly, for one to whom the subject was wholly new, a task of equal difficulty and responsibility. It was not a matter of past history which was to be investigated, in regard to which the authorities to be consulted were fully established, and their comparative merits perfectly known. The case was not to be decided upon evidence already sifted, and arranged to the writer's hand. He had all the work of examination and comparison to perform. Where should he find his touchstone? How, unfamiliar with the history, the language, the institutions, the customs, the characters of the leading men, of the country of whose affairs he is to treat, — how shall he be able at once to detect the incompetent or dishonest witness, by his errors, his perversions or suppressions of the truth? How shall he appreciate the testimony of the upright and well informed? He must be perpetually liable both to trust and to doubt in the wrong

* Letter, bearing date December 3d, addressed by the editor of the North American Review to the Daily Advertiser, 6th December, 1849.

place; to mistake rashness for the confidence of knowledge, and candor for the hesitation of ignorance.

The question of which the writer in the North American undertook the solution, moreover, was not one which concerned those long dead, and for ever insensible to human judgments. They whose interests and honor were involved in it were living, feeling men; men, too, who were at that moment, standing on our shores, waiting for the hand of welcome to be extended to them; men who had sacrificed every thing, — in what cause? The estimation in which they were to be held, the hospitality to be offered to them, must depend on the answer to that question.

The article in the North American did not belie the reputation which had preceded it. In the opening passages, the author already prepares his readers for a different view of the recent war in Hungary from that which had been generally entertained in this country. He reminds them that, during the progress of the war, they had been often deceived by false intelligence, which came "filtered through German and French newspapers, colored by the various hopes and fears of those who disseminate the reports with the intent of effecting public opinion," and he suggests the possibility that "the motives and aims of the belligerents have been as much misrepresented as their actions." It is in the examination of these motives and aims, that he proposes himself as the guide of his countrymen. He arrives at a judgment unfavorable to the Hungarians, and offers such views of their motives and objects as must, if well founded, deprive them of all claim to sympathy. This decision, coming with the authority of one of our oldest and most respected periodicals, produced a wide and deep effect. Its influence was probably greater upon those who had merely heard by report that the "North American" had declared the Magyar cause undeserving of sympathy, than upon those who had read the article in question. But, even among the latter, there were many who, though they could not but perceive the inconsistencies with which it abounded, were yet ready to attribute these to carelessness or haste on the part of the writer, and, in spite of the contradictions in facts and the failure in argument, to believe that he had suffi-

cient grounds for his own convictions, although he had not succeeded in stating them in such a manner as to give the reader an opportunity of judging of them for himself. That class of readers, however, who possessed some acquaintance with the affairs of Europe, found in this article abundant indications of that want of familiarity with his subject which the author had avowed in his letter of the 3d of December. It was read with surprise and regret, not only by those who sympathized with the injured Hungarians, but by many who felt the literary reputation of New England to be in some degree compromised by the appearance of an article of this nature in one of its leading reviews.

There were others who regarded this article with yet stronger reprobation. There were those who felt that a wrong had been committed, of the most cruel, the least generous kind, — a wrong to the unfortunate. Nor was this sense of injustice lessened as the practical effects of these injurious charges upon the condition and prospects of the exiles who sought refuge on our shores became more and more manifest. That portion of the community who are perhaps the most generous and the most sympathizing, — those engaged in the active business of life, — are precisely those who have the least leisure to bestow upon the investigation of historical questions, and who are most apt to rest their faith upon what they may consider the constituted authorities. This confidence of the public renders the office of a reviewer a most responsible one, and this responsibility is increased in exact proportion to the importance of the subject in regard to which he undertakes to lead the judgments of those who trust themselves to his guidance. Not a few, we believe, of the readers of "The War of Races," indulged a hope that the author, in view of this responsibility, might undertake a renewed investigation of the subject, and, in a future article, modify, if not recall, his injurious statements. This hope was not realized. A second paper on the same subject indeed appeared; but it was designed, not to atone for the injustice of the first, but to reassert, in yet stronger terms, the accusations contained in it. At the close of this article, the Reviewer challenges an examination of his statements, and appeals to the absence of a formal confutation as a proof that

confutation is impossible. We are of opinion that this challenge ought not to remain unanswered. We have received evidence that a mere statement of the true facts of the case is not sufficient; it is necessary also that the errors of the contrary statement should be plainly exposed. To undertake this exposition is no grateful task; but we feel that its performance is a duty owed not more to those who have suffered by these erroneous representations than to the public which has been misled by them. We shall, in the execution of this task, avoid, as far as possible, all severity of comment. The severity, if there be any, will be in the facts themselves; these we cannot soften; lenity in this respect would be injustice. We feel that none have a right to come forward to the performance of a task of this nature who do not come prepared to execute it without shrinking.

Before entering upon the examination of the article entitled "The War of Races," we must bestow some attention upon the sources from which the statements contained in it are supposed to have been drawn. The value of an essay upon a subject newly approached by the writer must, it is manifest, depend entirely upon his judgment in the choice of his authorities, and his fidelity in the use of them. It is necessary, therefore, to inquire what guides the author of the article under consideration has selected, and in what degree they are responsible for the course he has followed.

We find, at the head of the article, the title of a valuable work by M. de Gerando, a writer of high reputation, and an acknowledged authority on Hungarian affairs. The Reviewer, before entering upon his subject, mentions this work, entitled *De l'Esprit Public en Hongrie, depuis la Révolution Française*, as one of the chief sources from which his information has been drawn. In conjunction with this work, he mentions some articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, by MM. de Langsdorff and Desprez.

"We depend for information chiefly on M. Degerando's book, and on a series of excellent articles contributed by E. de Langsdorff and H. Desprez to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*." — *N. A. Review*, Vol. LXX. p. 79.

The work of De Gerando, which the North American Reviewer selects as the theme of his article, was published in 1848, before the commencement of the war, and gives

no intelligence from Hungary later than the summer of 1847. It cannot, therefore, supply information in regard to the war or its immediate causes. It contains, however, full and accurate accounts of the political institutions of the country, and of the character and condition of the various classes of the population. We regret that the Reviewer has not availed himself of the information thus afforded. We cannot, indeed, but express our surprise at the treatment which a writer of the high standing of De Gerando has received at the hands of the editor of the North American Review. After placing the title of this work at the head of his article, and citing the name of the author among his authorities, he does not again refer to it. There is not a statement of fact or opinion in the article which can be attributed to M. de Gerando; and the greater part of it is in direct contradiction to the statements of that author. Yet, though the work of M. de Gerando is professedly under review, the writer of "The War of Races" gives no intimation that any such contrariety of opinion exists between himself and his supposed authority; he passes no judgment upon the work; he cites none of the author's statements, not even to controvert them. The charges against the Hungarians contained in that article went forth to the world, therefore, with the sanction of the respected name of De Gerando. Three months afterwards, in another article, written to support the assertions made in the former one, the Reviewer, for the first time, alludes to his dissent from the opinions of De Gerando: the only notice of the work which is supposed to make the subject of "The War of Races" is to be found in a *note* to the article on "The Politics of Europe." The Reviewer, having, perhaps, become sensible of the injustice done to M. de Gerando in claiming his authority for statements so contrary to his own, attempts, in this note, to disparage this work by criticizing its style and spirit, yet without attempting to invalidate the statements contained in it. He here couples this work with a book of a wholly different class and far inferior value. The following is the note in question. It is found on page 515 of the North American Review for April, 1850.

"We make the same use of Mr. Frey's testimony which we did of M. Degerando's in our former article. Both are strongly

prejudiced in favor of the Magyars, — Degerando having married a lady of that race, *and resided a long time in the country*, — and both are therefore very unwilling to state any facts which make against this people. Consequently, any statements they may make which actually have this tendency deserve full credit. *We accept their facts* and take the liberty to question their conclusions. Degerando's books are verbose and feeble; but luckily they contain information enough to enable a careful reader to form a very correct opinion as to the merits of the case."*

We are at a loss to comprehend how the circumstance of an author's having resided a long time in a country should unfit him for giving a faithful account of it. It would almost seem that, in the judgment of the Reviewer, a writer's power of conveying information was in an inverse proportion to his opportunities of obtaining it. With regard to M. de Gerando's marriage with a Hungarian lady, this marriage connected him, not with the nobility, or great body of the Hungarian nation, but with the magnates,† or titled nobles, — a class in whose favor the Reviewer seems much more prejudiced than M. de Gerando, who, while he does justice to the exertions of some noble individuals of that class, is far from attributing to them, as a body, that superior disinterestedness and enlightenment which the Reviewer claims for them, to the prejudice of the untitled nobles. If, however, the Reviewer had proceeded upon the principle upon which he supposes himself to have acted in regard to M. de Gerando's work, nothing more could have been asked. If M. de Gerando's facts had been candidly laid before the reader, he would assuredly have arrived at a judgment opposed to that of the Reviewer, — if, indeed, that writer had not, in expounding these facts, been himself forced upon conclusions the reverse of those advanced in "The War of Races." But neither for the facts nor the con-

* We regard the question of style as of inferior importance in a work whose object is to convey information, rather than to amuse. As, however, the style may, in some respects, be an index to the character of an author, we may be allowed to remark, that our opinion on this subject differs wholly from that of the writer in the North American. The terms "verbose and feeble" are the last we should apply to the style of M. de Gerando.

† The magnates of Hungary are the class which corresponds to the nobility of Western Europe. The nobles, under the old constitution of Hungary, — remodelled in 1848, — were the third estate in the realm; the prelates constituting the first, the magnates the second, and the burghers, or inhabitants of the free royal cities, the fourth.

clusions of the author of that article is M. de Gerando in any degree responsible.

It was not without surprise that those readers, who had been drawn to the perusal of the article in the North American Review by the assurances received from the author of the great "*labor and research*" bestowed on its preparation, found that this research had apparently been expended on a few articles in a review, and that a writer who had already experienced the danger of trusting intelligence which came "filtered through French and German newspapers," and "colored with the views of those who wrote with the intent of affecting public opinion," had given himself up to intelligence received through the medium of a French review, devoted to the support of particular political views, and which, from the beginning of the Hungarian struggle, had taken a decided part in opposition to the Hungarians, and had even allowed itself to speak of their cause in a tone of contemptuous ridicule, not better calculated to impress the mind of the reader with a sense of the candor of its judgments, than it was adapted to the gravity of the subject. The author of "The War of Races" was doubtless misled by the confident tone of the writers in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which contrasts strikingly with the modesty and candor of M. de Gerando. But we would submit that the public has a right to expect that he who voluntarily comes forward to guide its opinion should come to his task possessed of such a measure of knowledge on the subject he proposes to elucidate, as shall enable him to select his authorities with judgment, where they conflict, to form a decision between them, and to furnish the public with the reasons for this decision. It would seem, moreover, that the constant tone of exaggeration, and the many inconsistencies, which pervade these articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, should have placed the reader, candidly desirous of arriving at the truth, on his guard. They abound in vague declamation and in general accusations, which the facts they relate, though overstated, entirely fail to substantiate. The French language has a capacity for vagueness, which is denied to our honest mother tongue. The North American Reviewer, in transferring the views and statements of these French writers from the pages

of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* to his own, has often given a substantial shape to airy nothings, translating intimations into asserted facts, and supplying the failure in his authorities by setting down what he supposes they must have meant, and what, indeed, they ought to have meant to justify the expressions of which they make use. This is especially the case with those portions of the article which relate to the domination of the Magyar race. We must, however, guard our readers from supposing that all the accusations brought against the Hungarians by the author of "The War of Races" have their source in the essays of De Langsdorff and Desprez. He has not always bound himself to the conclusions of these writers, any more than to those of De Gerando; and the nature of these deviations from his authorities must affect the mind of the reader who is aware that he undertook his task "in the hope of doing a little to increase the ardor of public feeling in favor of Hungary" with no less surprise than his choice of the authorities themselves. Many of the charges which these writers bring against the Hungarians would be very far from producing the same unfavorable impression in this country as in alarmed and reactionary France. These charges are found, in a surprising manner, to have changed their complexion with the climate. With the editor of the North American, the Magyars are aristocrats and ultra-conservatives; Kossuth and the untitled nobles have, according to him, "provoked a contest," undertaken, on their part, "to defend their antiquated feudal institutions, and their unjust and excessive privileges as an order and a race, against the invasion of the liberal ideas and the reformatory spirit of the nineteenth century." With the French authorities of this writer, these same men are democrats and radicals. Kossuth is a "democrat of the new revolutionary school," who "has not feared to overthrow the whole political and social state of his country, to realize dreams of universal equality more chimerical in Hungary than anywhere else."*

Neither are the writers in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* to be held responsible for all the historical and other errors which pervade the article on "The War of Races." They

* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Oct., 1848.

are inaccurate writers; but their essays, especially those of De Langsdorff, contain, where no political bias interferes, much that is interesting, and even valuable. But we are reluctantly compelled to affirm, that there is no portion of the article on "The War of Races" on which the reader can safely rely. We do not exaggerate, and we believe that all those persons who have an acquaintance with the history of Hungary, and who have read the article in the North American, will sustain us when we say, that there is hardly a sentence in this article in which an error is not either expressed or implied; in many portions of it, error is so interwoven with error, that the baffled critic turns from the task of refutation as from the entrance to an inextricable labyrinth. We are disposed to believe that the absence of any formal and labored confutation of the article on "The War of Races" — to which absence the author appeals as a proof of its invulnerability — may be attributed to the Herculean labor which the task of correcting all the errors contained in this historical essay seemed to involve, and the great length to which such a confutation must be extended if the task were thoroughly executed. These errors pervade every part of the article, and are almost as numerous in that portion which relates to those periods of Hungarian history which are most familiar to the general reader as in those whose investigation requires a certain degree of research. We cannot, within the limits of the present article, notice any large portion of these mistakes. We shall confine ourselves chiefly to the most important of those which have an immediate bearing on the Hungarian cause at the present day. We should not occupy any space in pointing out inaccuracies which have not a direct relation to this subject, were it not that, when commenting upon the errors in that portion of the article which relates to the recent history of Hungary, we shall often be compelled to refer to authorities which may not be in the possession of our readers. We must, therefore, in order to prepare them to credit the existence of errors of such magnitude in the pages of a review to whose authority they have been accustomed to look with respect, point out misstatements of the same nature in relation to portions of history with which they are conversant, or in regard to which they can easily satisfy

themselves. Before we enter upon the main subject, then, we will offer a few such examples, taken from the sketch of the history of Hungary which is found in "The War of Races." We select a passage which relates to one of the best-known periods of Hungarian history. The passage is found on page 97 of the North American Review for January, 1850. The reviewer has just been speaking of the battle of Mohàcs in 1526, since which event, he says, the Hungarians "have found protection from their enemies only by their union with Austria, whose yoke they have often rebelled against, but have never entirely shaken off."

"Yet there was little in this union with Austria to wound the national pride, except of a very jealous and sensitive people. It was as an ally, more than as a subject province, as a sovereign power submitting to certain common restrictions for the purchase of certain common advantages, that Hungary made choice, so long as her monarchy remained elective, of the emperor of Austria to be her king, and finally, in a diet held at Presburg in 1687, acknowledged the hereditary right of the same family to reign in both countries. After the memorable scene with Maria Theresa, this right was extended, according to the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, to the female line. It was not, indeed, till after her union with Austria was confirmed, that Hungary was entirely released from the Turks, who had retained possession of full half of the kingdom from the battle of Mohacz till they were defeated and driven out by the heroic John Sobieski, in 1683. During this period of national humiliation and distress, the Magyars hesitated whether to throw themselves under the exclusive protection of the Austrians or the Turks, who divided the country between them. Though Ferdinand I. of Austria had become their rightful sovereign after the death of the unhappy Louis II., whose sister he had married, and whose right, of course, was transmitted to her descendants, the Austrian rule was so distasteful to them, that they invoked the aid of the Ottomans against it, and, in the final struggle, the noted Tekeli and his partisans fought with the Turks against Sobieski."

We would call the attention of our readers to some of the errors contained in the above passage: —

"*Yet there was little in this union with Austria to wound the national pride, except of a very jealous and sensitive people. It was as an ally, more than as a subject province, as a sovereign power submitting to certain common restrictions for the purchase of certain common advantages, that Hungary made choice, so long*

as her monarchy remained elective, of the emperor of Austria to be her king."

There were no emperors of Austria during the period that the Hungarian monarchy remained elective, nor for more than a hundred years afterwards. This title did not exist until the present century. It was assumed in 1804, by Francis, in anticipation of the loss of that of Emperor of Germany, which he resigned in 1806. After the battle of Mohács, in 1526, a portion of the Hungarian nation made choice of Ferdinand, *Archduke* of Austria, whose brother, Charles the Fifth, was at that time Emperor of Germany, for their king. If Ferdinand and his successors had observed the conditions upon which they received the crown of Hungary, there would doubtless have been nothing in the connection with Austria — no *union*, properly speaking, took place, or was contemplated by the Hungarians — which could wound either the pride or the interests of the nation. It was the constant attempts of the kings of the house of Hapsburg to reduce Hungary from the condition of an "ally" to that of a "subject province" of Austria, which not merely wounded "the national pride" of the Hungarians, but forced them to maintain a constant struggle for national existence.

"*After the memorable scene with Maria Theresa, this right was extended, according to the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, to the female line.*"

If this right had not been extended to the female line in the lifetime of Charles the Third, father of Maria Theresia, the memorable scene could never have taken place. Maria Theresia was already queen of Hungary, or she could not have summoned the Hungarian diet.

"*It was not, indeed, till after her union with Austria was confirmed, that Hungary was entirely released from the Turks, who had retained possession of full half of the kingdom from the battle of Mohacz till they were defeated and driven out by the heroic John Sobieski, in* 1683."

How could the confirmation of the "union with Austria," or, to speak more accurately, the establishment of the house of Hapsburg on the Hungarian throne, by the act of the diet of 1687 and the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723, contribute to the release of Hungary from the Turks,

if they had been already driven out in 1683? And what merit could Austria claim in this expulsion, if they were driven out by Sobieski, king of Poland? But the Turks were not driven out of Hungary in 1683; neither were they driven out by Sobieski, though the Reviewer seems so well satisfied of this fact, that he has asserted it more than once in the course of his article. On page 86 we find that "the greater part of the country remained subject to the Ottomans for a century and a half, till the heroic John Sobieski accomplished its deliverance." John Sobieski accomplished the deliverance of *Vienna* in 1683, and gained several victories over the Turks on his return to Poland. The subsequent campaign in Hungary was carried on under Charles of Lorraine. The city of Buda itself was not retaken until 1686. The glory of the final overthrow of the Turks in Hungary belongs to Prince Eugene of Savoy. Their power was not thoroughly broken until their defeat by that prince at Zenta, in 1697, which compelled them to submit to the peace of Carlowitz, in 1699, by which they were forced to resign the greater part of what remained to them of their conquests in Hungary. They cannot be said to have been driven out of Hungary until the victory gained over them by Prince Eugene, at Peterwardein, in August, 1716, and the subsequent successes of that prince, had compelled them to accept the terms of the peace of Passarowitz, July, 1718, by which they resigned their remaining possessions in Hungary.*

"*The Turks who had retained possession of full half of the kingdom from the battle of Mohacz till*," &c.

The battle of Mohács was almost immediately followed by the accession of the house of Hapsburg to the Hungarian throne. This, then, was the "protection" which the Hungarians found from their enemies in the "union with Austria": — the Turks, who had never before gained a permanent footing in Hungary, under these princes retain possession of full half of the kingdom for more than one hundred and fifty years. The Reviewer has told us, only in the preceding page, that "their renowned kings, John Huniades and Mathias Corvinus, saved Europe from

* Fessler, *Die Geschichten der Ungern.* — Mailath, *Geschichte des Östreichischen Kaiserstaates.* — Chowanetz, *Die Geschichten Ungarns*, &c.

conquest by the Turks, and repeatedly drove back in disgrace the army that was flushed with the recent conquest of Constantinople." Only thirty-six years divide the reign of Ferdinand from that of Mathias, and at this period it appears that the Hungarians were not only in a condition to protect themselves, but to protect Europe. It was not the loss of the battle of Mohács, in which 26,000 Hungarians, in their contempt of their enemy, attacked 200,000 Turks, that made the date of that event so mournful an era in the history of Hungary. It was the fall of the king in this battle, rendering a new election necessary at this critical juncture, and thus dividing the country with civil dissensions in the presence of an invading army, and affording an opportunity to an enemy not less formidable than the Turks to execute his designs, that made the field of Mohács so fatal to the Hungarian nation. That portion of the nation who made choice of Ferdinand doubtless entertained an expectation that by this measure they should find an "ally" in Austria, and "purchase" some "advantages" from the connection. These hopes were disappointed. Austria neither protected the Hungarians from the Turks, nor suffered them effectually to protect themselves. It was when their armies were commanded by Austrian generals, and their cities filled with Austrian garrisons, — it was when Austrian misgovernment and falsehood had divided the nation against itself, — that the Hungarians were forced to submit to the Turks. When the German empire was itself threatened with ruin, then first the Austrian government found it time to take vigorous measures for expelling the Turks from Hungary. Our readers will observe, that, even in regard to this distant period of Hungarian history, the Reviewer feels called upon to undertake the defence of Austria. He is even at the trouble of supplying Ferdinand with a title to the crown: —

"*Though Ferdinand I. of Austria had become their rightful sovereign after the death of the unhappy Louis II., whose sister he had married, and whose right, of course, was transmitted to her descendants*," &c.

The Reviewer has told us that the Hungarian crown was made hereditary in 1687, and that this right was not extended to the female line until *after* September, 1741.

Yet here we find Ferdinand the First claiming to be *rightful* sovereign, in quality, apparently, of descendant from his wife, in 1526, the date of the death of Louis the Second.

"*And, in the final struggle, the noted Tekeli* [Tökŏly?] *and his partisans fought with the Turks against Sobieski.*"

Sobieski was already dead at the time of the "final struggle." Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who had the conduct of the war in Hungary at the time of the death of that prince (1696), resigned his command to Prince Eugene of Savoy, on being nominated to the throne of Poland.* He was already king of that country when the battle of Zenta took place. Sobieski had been dead twenty years when the victory of Peterwardein forced the Turks to relinquish their last possessions in Hungary.

In commenting upon the above passages, we have passed over some minor inaccuracies and inconsistencies. We shall mention, in this connection one more example of historical inaccuracy, as we have had occasion to quote the passage in which it occurs. It relates to the man whose name and career are perhaps more widely known than those of any other Hungarian hero. John Hunyadi, governor of Hungary during the minority of Ladislaus the Fifth, is, by the North American Reviewer, counted among the kings of Hungary.

"Yet their renowned *kings*, John Huniades and Mathias Corvinus," &c. — p. 96.

The Reviewer has possibly been drawn into this error by De Langsdorff. In one of his articles upon Hungary, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, that writer says, "The decrees of King Mathias, son of John Hunyadi, the most popular king in the history of Hungary,"† &c. The epithet "most popular" is intended to apply to Mathias, but, from the construction of the sentence, would appear to belong to Hunyadi. But what reliance can be placed upon the facts or conclusions of a writer, who, in discussing a grave historical subject, affecting the fame and interests of a nation, contents himself with such a knowl-

* Fessler, *Die Geschichten der Ungern.* — Mailath, *Geschichte des Östreichischen Kaiserstaates.*

† *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1er Août, 1848.

edge of their history as may be gained from a few ephemeral articles in a French review, and whom the pointing of a sentence may betray into errors like this?

The writers in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* are strong political opponents of the Magyars, and, as we have intimated, are not always very scrupulous in their assertions, or very moderate in their reprobation. We would not, however, willingly do these writers any injustice, by attributing to them a larger share of responsibility in the deep injury which has been done to the exiles who sought our hospitality than is their due. They are by no means actuated by the same keen hostility against the Hungarians which is manifested by the writer in the North American. The writers in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, moreover, confine their animadversions to the Hungarians of recent times. In regard to matters that lie in the more remote past, they make no attempt to reverse the judgments of history. The writer in the North American not only pronounces a decisive judgment against the Hungarians in the case under consideration, but endeavours to deprive them of the benefits of those historic associations which had, without doubt, contributed not a little to the enthusiasm their cause had inspired. For in this case, as in every other where the details of the evidence are not fully comprehended, the established character of the parties had weighed for much in influencing the public judgment. The principles which had directed the Austrian government under the long sway of Metternich were known wherever the name of Austria had been heard. With this name were connected no associations but those of meanness, stagnation, moral death; while magnanimity, chivalrous valor, and resolute love of freedom are recognized as the attributes of the Hungarian nation. The North American Reviewer would disenchant his readers from this spell; he uses a tone of disparagement, whether the topic be their past or their present history, their institutions, their customs, or the debates in their legislative assembly. He throws slight and ridicule even on that celebrated example of self-devotion and loyalty, which drew forth the brilliant eulogium of Montesquieu, and waked a glow even in the cold heart of Voltaire. The pages of these popular writers have made this scene familiar and dear to the memories of thousands, and we believe that no part of the attack on the

Hungarians called forth a more lively sense of the indignity offered to that brave people, than the passage in which this scene was coupled with the sneering epithets "theatrical, and in bad taste."* Nor was this feeling of indignation unjust or overstrained; for he who would lessen by ever so little the faith of mankind in disinterestedness and loyalty, he who would desecrate a single shrine at which the world has done homage to nobleness, has, to the extent of his influence, inflicted an injury on his kind.

But in treating of the affairs of Hungary, and the merits of the recent contest, we shall appeal to no associations of the past; we shall claim for the Hungarians no inherited honors. If they are the degenerate sons of patriots and heroes, if magnanimity, disinterestedness, and fidelity to principle are no longer the growth of the soil of Hungary, it would be vain to speak or to hope for her more; there is no appeal from that law of eternal justice which decrees that the greatness and independence of a nation shall be buried in the same grave with its virtues.

We will, before entering into arguments or details, place distinctly before our readers what the charges brought against the Hungarians in "The War of Races" are, for we believe that many persons whose opinion has been influenced by this article have only a general impression that the North American Review has pronounced judgment against the Magyars, without any accurate idea of the charges preferred, or the evidence by which they are supported.

The accusation brought by the author of "The War of Races" against the Hungarian nation is, that they are not the defenders of liberty, but the supporters of tyranny and oppression; that the war in which they have been recently engaged was not a war of defence, nor a struggle for freedom, but a war deliberately entered into by them in order to preserve their ancient feudal institutions, and to maintain the Magyar race in the possession of certain unjust and exorbitant privileges, which they enjoyed to the exclusion of the other races composing with them the population of Hungary. In support and illustration

* *North American Review*, Vol. LXX. p. 104.

of this charge, he avers that the nobility of Hungary, or that portion of the inhabitants who, prior to 1848, formed the constituency of the country,* and were called by distinction the Hungarian nation, were exclusively of the Magyar race. To this race he ascribes the possession of all the land and all the political power in the country. He affirms that this Magyar nobility, as a body, has been constantly opposed to all reform in Hungary; that such reforms as have been effected there have been brought about by the exertions of some of the magnates (the class which corresponds to the nobility of other countries in Europe), with the aid of the Austrian government; finally, that the recent war in Hungary was occasioned by the obstinate selfishness of this untitled Magyar nobility, who refused to admit their countrymen of different race to an equality of civil and political rights.

These are the statements which it is our present purpose to controvert. We shall compare them first with the actual facts, next with the testimony of the authorities appealed to by the author of "The War of Races" as the chief sources of his information, and lastly with the counter statements or admissions of that writer himself. We shall take up each of the points above mentioned in its turn, and, to avoid all misapprehension, shall in each case give, in the writer's own words, the statement we design to refute.

And, first, of the assertion that all the nobles of Hungary are of the Magyar race.

"It is estimated by the latest statisticians, that the nobles, *who are all Magyars*, number about 600,000." — p. 87.

"The nobles, *that is, the Magyars*," &c. — p. 94.

Taken in a certain sense, this assertion is correct. The nobility † of Hungary are all Hungarians or Magyars, in the same sense that all citizens of England, of whatever descent, are Englishmen, — that all citizens of France, of whatever race, or speaking whatever language, are French-

* See *Christian Examiner*, May, 1850, p. 454.

† The reader will bear in mind, that the term "noble" in Hungary has no correspondence with the same term as used in the West of Europe. A noble in Hungary was — prior to 1848, when these distinctions were abolished — one who possessed an hereditary claim to the rights of citizenship, and to many important privileges, among which was exemption from taxation.

men. The name of the country is Hungaria, or Magyarország (Magyar-land). Both these names are taken from appellations of the conquering race who took possession of the country at the end of the ninth century, and who have ever since been regarded as the dominant race; but only in the same sense as the Anglo-Saxon may be said to be the leading or dominant race in the United States, where the American of pure English blood enjoys no greater political privileges than the German of Pennsylvania or the Frenchman of Louisiana. In Hungary, as in almost every other country in Europe, great inequalities in regard to civil and political privileges existed until very recent times. But these distinctions were not based on difference of race. The nobility or constituency of Hungary, composed of all races, formed what was called by distinction the Hungarian or Magyar nation.* But the writer in the North American does not intend to use the name in this extended sense. He means to assert that the nobles in Hungary are strictly of the Magyar race, as distinguished from the Slavonian, Wallachian, &c. This assertion is, indeed, essential to his argument. He does not leave his meaning doubtful: he repeats, again and again, in various forms of expression, the statement that the nobles of Hungary are strictly of the Magyar race.

"*The Magyars, aristocrats in a double sense, both as an order and a race.*" — p. 120.

"They sought to defend their antiquated feudal institutions and their unjust and excessive privileges *as an order and a race.*" — p. 122.

"The distance between the vassal and his lord was rendered more broad and impassable by the fact that *they belonged to different races and spoke different languages.*" — p. 88.

This statement, though so confidently believed and asserted by the writer in the North American, is altogether erroneous. The error is susceptible of immediate demonstration. On reference to the statistical tables of Fényes, we find the number of nobles in many of the counties exceeds — often by thousands — the whole number of (strictly speaking) Magyar inhabitants of those counties. For example, in the Slovac county of

* For details on this subject, see *Christian Examiner*, May, 1850.

Zólyom, there are but 200 Magyar inhabitants; there are in the county 2,152 nobles. If, therefore, we take it for granted that these 200 Magyars are all nobles, there remain 1,952 Slovac nobles in this one county. In the Slovac county of Turócz, in which more than a tenth part of the population is noble, there are but 200 Magyar inhabitants; the number of nobles in this county is 4,800. In the Slavonic county of Pozsega, which has no Magyar population, there are 638 nobles. In the Slovac county of Trencsén, in which there are but 1,500 Magyar inhabitants, the nobility number 9,813.

The North American Reviewer attributes to nobles of the *Magyar race* the possession of all the land in the country, and all the political power.

"Among these *the Magyars*, who are the dominant race, *and who have long owned all the soil and held the whole political power of the country in their hands*," &c. — p. 83.

"Barbarian conquerors leave nothing to the vanquished; *the Magyars appropriated to themselves the whole of the soil of Hungary, and their laws rendered it impossible that any portion of it should ever be alienated from them.*" — p. 93.

"The nobles, that is, *the Magyars*, have the control of the army, and direct the whole course of public affairs. They *alone*, as we have seen, compose the county assemblies, or congregations, which meet four times a year, and send delegates to the general diet, which has the supreme legislative power of the kingdom." — p. 94.

"The counties, of which there are about sixty in the kingdom, are regulated exclusively by *Magyar* nobles." — p. 88.

With regard to the assertion that the land in Hungary is exclusively owned by Magyar nobles, we reply, that, for many years, the exclusive possession of the land has not been secured to nobles; there has never been a time since the first occupation of the country by the Magyars, when it has been exclusively possessed by *Magyar* nobles. Slavonian nobles own estates, not only in those parts of Hungary which are chiefly peopled by Slavonians, but in the most purely Magyar counties. Proprietors of German extraction are to be found in every part of the kingdom. In the *Magyarország Leirása* of Fényes, the names of the largest landed proprietors in each of the counties are given. A reference to these will immediately settle this question. In

the county of Pest, out of five names which Fényes gives as those of the largest proprietors, — Károlyi, *Keglevich*, *Festetics*; Földvary, *Grassalkovich*, — three are Slavonic. In the county of Fejér, one of the purest Magyar counties, we find Counts Lamberg and Brunsvik, of German, and Baron Luzsinsky, of Slavonic extraction, among the principal proprietors. The estates of Pulszky, an untitled noble of Slavonic descent, — during the late revolution Hungarian envoy to Great Britain, — lie in the Magyar portion of the county of Nógrád. In this county, of eight names of the largest proprietors, enumerated by Fényes, we find three Magyar, three Slavonian, and two German. The counties we have mentioned are those in which a Magyar population greatly predominates. In the Slavonian county of Veröcze, all the names given by Fényes, as those of the largest proprietors, are Slavonian, — Mihalovich, Pejachevich, Jankovics Jozsef, and Jankovics Istvan.

The writer in the North American not only asserts that all the land is owned by Magyar nobles, but likewise affirms that "*all the Magyar nobles own land*" (p. 88). This statement is likewise erroneous. Many of the Hungarian nobles cultivate land which they hire of the large proprietors. They are sometimes much poorer than the peasants among whom they live, and from whom they have nothing either in dress or mode of life to distinguish them. M. Desprez, in speaking of these landless nobles, calls them in contempt *prolétaires privilégiés*. The possession of the rights of citizenship and the enjoyment of certain privileges were the distinctions of the Hungarian noble. These rights and privileges were enjoyed by all the nobles alike. Among the nobles of Hungary are found the same inequalities of wealth and station that are found among the citizens of other countries; many of them follow the humblest occupations. With these differences of condition, difference of race has nothing to do; they depend on the same causes in Hungary as in other countries. There, as elsewhere, distinguished abilities, or fortunate circumstances, may raise an individual of the humblest rank to the highest distinctions, whether of fame or of wealth and station. Petöfi, one of the most distinguished, perhaps the most popular, of the poets of Hungary of the present time,

is of very humble origin. The founder of the princely family Grassalkovich was a poor Slavonian, who, in his struggles to obtain an education, supported himself by gathering remnants of food from door to door.

The statement that "*Magyar nobles held all the political power of the country in their hands*," that *Magyar nobles* "alone compose the county assemblies, which send delegates to the general diet," &c., is not better founded than the assertion that they "*have long owned all the soil.*" The county assemblies were composed of all the nobles of the county, of whatever race, condition, or fortune. Distinctions of race, indeed, were in this regard not so much as thought of. Fényes, in his chapter on the Composition of the Diet, says merely, "The deputies from the counties are chosen *by the nobles resident in the counties, whether proprietors or non-proprietors.*" *

The North American Reviewer does not specify from which of his authorities he has drawn his statements in regard to the nobility of Hungary. He has perhaps been led into these errors by some rhetorical passages in one of the articles of M. de Langsdorff, from which views similar to those expressed by the writer in the North American may be inferred, though they are not distinctly asserted.† Yet an observant reader might have found, even in M. de Langsdorff's articles, abundant refutation of these erroneous intimations, in the form of solid facts distinctly stated. For example, in speaking of the Wallachs of Hungary, that writer says,—

"This race, now servile and degraded, may well be descended from the soldiers of Cæsar and Trajan, since they have given to Hungary two great men, John Hunyadi and the King Mathias Corvinus." — *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1er Août, 1848.

Thus it appears that, even four centuries ago, members of this race could attain to the highest offices in the state, and even to the royal dignity. This was in the time of the greatness and independence of Hungary. M. de Gerando is not responsible for these errors of the writer in the North American. In the work which is selected as the theme of the article on "The War of

* *Magyarország Leirása*, I. 120.

† *Revue des Deux Mondes.* These passages were quoted in the May number of the Christian Examiner.

Races," we find the following passages in reference to this subject.

"The words *lords* and *serfs* which, for an instant, were applied to the conquerors and the conquered, were not long in changing their meaning. The Hungarian laws, even the most ancient, in designating the rank of the inhabitants, do not make use of the names of race; they say *nobiles et rustici;* for all the nations soon composed these two classes, to which, by a political fiction, the general name of *Magyarok* or *Hungari* was given. While the conquered passed into the rank of nobles, the conquerors were seen to descend to the state of serfs. The Magyars, properly so called, lost their nobility when they incurred an infamous punishment, or simply when they refused to take arms in time of war. Without entering into long details, and giving here the history of the different classes of this population, we will say that, in our time, the nation which counts the greatest number of peasants, or non-nobles, is precisely the Magyar nation; which is explained by the fact that it is the most numerous. For the same reason, the other races, taken together, furnish a much greater number; for, united, they are numerically superior to the Hungarians. *The nobles of the Slavonian counties in the north and south are generally of Slavonian origin, and there are counties where there are a hundred Wallachian nobles for one Magyar.*" — *De l'Esprit Public en Hongrie*, pp. 318, 319.

We will now proceed, in conformity with our plan, to examine how consistently the points we have been considering — the exclusive enjoyment of the rank of nobility by the Magyars, and their exclusive possession of the land and of political privileges — are maintained by the writer in the North American himself.

In regard to the exclusive possession of land in Hungary by the Magyar race, which is affirmed without qualification on page 83, we find on page 87 the following modified statement: —

"As the other races, *till quite recently*, owned *little or no land in Hungary proper*, except in the free cities," &c.

This assertion is not less erroneous than the other, but is manifestly inconsistent with it; and even after this partial retraction, the Reviewer not only reasserts, without reserve, that the Magyar nobles owned all the land (p. 89), but declares that "*their laws rendered it impossible that any portion of it should ever be alienated from them*" (p. 93).

Again, in regard to the exclusive possession of political power by Magyar nobles. This is asserted in express terms on pages 83, 89, and 94. Yet, without any apparent sense of inconsistency, the Reviewer relates, on page 110, that Kossuth, whom he calls a "Slovack lawyer," was "chosen a deputy," and on page 112, he speaks of "the few Slavonians in the diet," without troubling himself about the natural curiosity of his readers to learn, after all he has told them, how these Slavonians, few or many, came there. With regard to the main assertion, that all the nobles in Hungary are of the Magyar race, which is stated, as we have seen, in express terms, on pages 87 and 94, and which is repeated, more or less directly, not less than twelve times in the course of the article on "The War of Races," the writer is not, in the end, more consistent. In the article on "The Politics of Europe" which followed, he forgets all that he had been at so much pains to impress on the minds of his readers, and talks as coolly of "*Slovack nobles*"* as if he had never denied their existence.

We believe that the readers of "The War of Races" must have been struck with the very slight attention which the author of that article bestows upon the peasants of the Magyar race, and with the absence of all attempt to explain away the obstacle which the existence of this peasantry, and their admitted participation in the war, offer to his theories. From many passages in the article, indeed, the reader would have reason to infer that all the Magyars were equally privileged, their interests therefore identical, and opposed to those of the other races. The writer speaks of the Magyars as "*aristocrats in a double sense, both as an order and a race*" (p. 120); of the political and civil institutions being "contrived for the benefit of *this dominant race, who form less than a third part of the population*" (p. 89). He tells us that, in the recent war,

> "The Magyars were fighting to support the old dominion of their race, and the ancient constitution of Hungary, which secured *to them, though they were less than four and a half millions in number*, the entire control of a country peopled by fourteen millions." — p. 130.

* *North American Review*, Vol. LXX. p. 509.

The very first statement which he makes, in that portion of his article which is devoted to the investigation of "the circumstances out of which the war arose," is the following: —

"Hungary, with a territory not larger than that of Virginia and North Carolina united, has a population of about ten millions and a half, made up of at least half a dozen distinct races, who speak so many distinct languages and dialects. Among these, the Magyars, who are the dominant race, and have long owned all the soil, and held the whole political power of the country in their hands, number about 4,200,000." — p. 83.

The Reviewer goes on, for four or five pages, to write as if upon the supposition that these 4,200,000 Magyars own the land and share the political power of Hungary: —

"The distance between the *vassal and his lord* was rendered more broad and impassable by the fact that *they belonged to different races and spoke different languages.*" — p. 86.

"The patient and laborious Wallachians and Slavonians have tilled the ground for them [the Magyars] for centuries, hardly conscious how firmly the yoke of servitude rested on their necks." — p. 87.

No intimation is given of the existence of a peasantry of the Magyar race, until page 87. This fact is there conveyed to the reader in the following ingenious terms: —

"It is estimated by the latest statisticians that the nobles, who are all Magyars, number at least 600,000, including women and children, *so that one seventh part of this dominant race* enjoy the privileges of rank."

That is to say, there were nearly four millions of Magyars in precisely the same condition with the Slavonian and Wallachian peasants, suffering from the same disabilities, subjected to the same oppression. The Reviewer makes no attempt to explain how it was that the peasants of this haughty race, men in whom all the characteristics of the Magyar were much more strongly marked than in the nobles even of their own race, came to make common cause with their oppressors. Were they, like the patient and laborious Wallachs and Slavonians, "hardly conscious how firmly the yoke of servitude rested on their necks"? or was their pride of race so gratified by seeing one seventh of their number "enjoying the

privileges of rank," that the other six sevenths were content with servitude, and even took up arms to render it perpetual? Thus it must have been, according to the author of "The War of Races":—"Kossuth and the untitled nobles, *assisted by the peasants of their race*, alone provoked the contest," — a contest which was undertaken by these untitled nobles "*to defend and maintain their ancient feudal institutions.*"

The explanation of the adherence of both the Magyar and German peasants of Hungary to the national cause is to be found in the superior intelligence of this part of the population. A large part of the Catholic and Protestant Slavonians were found on the same side. Most of those who were enlightened enough to form a judgment of passing events, and who were not, through their religious faith, subjected to the influence of Russian emissaries, and that of the unprincipled priests of the Greek Church, were little disposed to abandon substantial advantages for the gratification of a blind and unreasonable jealousy. The Magyar peasantry were, without doubt, animated by a more ardent enthusiasm. The intelligent peasantry of the other races fought to defend their newly-acquired property and rights of citizenship. The Magyar peasantry added to these powerful motives that intense national feeling and ardent love of country which have always distinguished them not less than the privileged classes. To all the causes which drew the peasantry to the national side, we must doubtless add the hereditary attachment and personal affection which, in many instances, bound them to their lords, in whom they had been accustomed to find protectors rather than masters. In the case of the Magyars, and that portion of the peasantry of the other races who lived on the border of the Magyar territory, was added the advantage of understanding the national language, which enabled them to follow the proceedings of the diet, and thus prevented them from being deceived by the emissaries of Austria as to the source to which they owed their freedom and dignity as citizens. This conducts us to the next point we have proposed to examine, namely, the conduct of the Hungarian nobility in regard to reform. It is represented by the North American Reviewer that the nobility or privileged citizens of Hungary were, as a body, opposed to all reform of their institutions.

"Their only scheme of political conduct was to allow of no innovation in the ancient customs of the Magyars, and to manifest constant jealousy of Austria, whose interests coincided with those of the oppressed peasants and the subject races of the population, inasmuch as these ancient customs obstructed the influence of all three. It suited the untitled nobles to declare that they were contending for the ancient liberties of Hungary, when, in fact, they were opposing the emancipation of the peasants, and endeavouring to prevent the subject Sclavonians and Wallachians from breaking their chains." — p. 110.

The Reviewer does not adduce any facts in support of his assertions, but appears to found his opinion solely on the *a priori* reasoning, that these privileges were so great, and the abolition of them would be attended with such a loss of influence and rank to the nobles, that it was impossible they should yield them without a struggle.

"They [the nobles] were the only class who were benefited by the retention of antiquated customs; the magnates, with their vast landed estates, and having the entire control of the upper house in the diet, would still be predominant in the state, even if their feudal privileges should be swept away. But the lesser nobles, many of whom are quite poor, would have no more power than the burghers of the free cities, or the wealthier class of the emancipated peasants, if the historical ground were taken away from them, and the abuses and inequalities of the feudal system abolished." — p. 109.

This is true; and it greatly enhances the merit of the nobles of Hungary, especially those of humble rank, that, notwithstanding the opposition there appeared to be between their immediate interests and the reforms which the country required, — notwithstanding the constant attempts made by the agents of Austria and the conservative magnates to secure their votes to the candidates of the anti-reform party, — they were no sooner convinced that the interests of the country required these reforms, than they gave them their cordial concurrence. When these questions were brought forward by the leaders of reform in 1825, many of the nobles, doubtless, regarded with apprehension and displeasure these proposals of change in institutions which they had been accustomed to regard as the most precious inheritance they could bequeathe to their children. The conversion took place with wonderful rapidity. Enlightened by the debates

in the diet, which the poorest noble follows with interest, by the writings of Széchényi, and, above all, by the harangues delivered in the county meetings by Wesselényi, Széchényi, and by the leading members of the lower house, the citizens of Hungary awoke to a sense of injustice in the possession of privileges, from which others, equally with themselves children of the common country, were excluded. They learned, too, that the interests of their country required changes in their institutions; that the best defence against the attempts of Austria was to be found in strengthening the country by increasing the number of those who had an interest in its welfare. These arguments were, with them, conclusive; there was no sacrifice which the country demanded, that the nobles of Hungary, with whom patriotism was the ruling passion, were not willing to make. The convincing, the unanswerable proof that the great body of the Hungarian nobility favored reform, is to be found in the fact that, from the year 1830, the liberal party had constantly a large majority in the lower house. Whatever reforms the Reviewer admits to have taken place prior to 1848 were carried on, according to him, by Count Széchényi, "under the direct aid and countenance of the Austrian government, in spite of a furious opposition from the lesser Magyar nobility in the lower house";* but he neglects to inform his readers how Széchényi succeeded in carrying out his plans of reform in such a manner as to exclude the nation from all participation in the honor; or what means he adopted to secure the passage of these measures in a legislative assembly, in spite of the opposition — the "furious opposition" — of the nobles who composed it. He assigns to Széchényi as coadjutors the chamber of magnates and the Austrian government. But the chamber of magnates certainly could not enact laws without the concurrence of the deputies. It had, indeed, no power but that of accepting or rejecting those measures which had been already adopted by the second table of the diet.† The Austrian government, even if it had been as well disposed to reform as the Reviewer supposes, had no power but that of proposing subjects for discussion.

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* *North American Review*, Vol. LXX. p. 516.

† Fényes, *Magyarország Leirása.* — De Gerando, *De l'Esprit Public en Hongrie.* — Schütte, *Ungarn, und der Unabhängigkeitskrieg*, &c.

"It is much to the credit of the Austrian government, that, although Széchényi was the leader of the constitutional opposition in the diet, it adopted nearly all his projects of reform, and submitted them, under the form of royal propositions, to be discussed in both houses. Strange to say, also, these propositions were received with most favor in the upper house." — p. 108.

We will not pause to inquire why the Reviewer finds it "*strange to say*" that proposals of reform found "most favor in the upper house," though if, as he tells us, the interests of the magnates were much less affected by them than those of the nobility, one might suppose that, if they were received with favor in either chamber, it would be in that of the magnates. Such, however, was not the case. The magnates, as a body, were the chief opponents of reform. While some of their number, as the noble Wesselényi, the excellent Széchényi, gave themselves ardently to the support and promulgation of liberal ideas, the greater part remained behind, and were far less accessible to the arguments and persuasions of the enlightened members of their own body, than were the common nobles or citizens of the country. Though the position of the magnates was not immediately threatened by the reforms proposed, they easily foreboded that more radical changes must one day follow these. They saw, in the progress of democratic principles, as much danger to their order as threatened the independence of the country from the designs of Austria. The national and the liberal party were one. The magnates of Hungary, therefore, however unwillingly, sought to secure the safety of their order by an alliance with the enemies of their country. It was during the diet of 1832–36 that the Austrian government, for the first time, found support in a Hungarian diet.

In order to appreciate the conduct of Austria and that of the different parties in Hungary, in regard to reform, it is necessary to understand the measures which were under discussion, in all their bearings. In all these projects of reform, something more was in question than the simple abolition of abuses, or the substitution of just laws, suited to the circumstances of the times, for an antiquated system of legislation. Every proposal of change in the old constitution of Hungary offered to the Austrian government an occasion for attempting a

new encroachment. It was a task of double difficulty that the patriots of Hungary had before them, called upon, at the same time, to reform and to defend their institutions. Among the reforms proposed by the liberal party in Hungary, there were doubtless some which were viewed with less disfavor than others by the Austrian government, and which, under certain conditions, it might not be indisposed to promote. But, under these conditions, they would be less serviceable than dangerous to Hungary. Thus, the contest in the diet often concerned, not simply the adoption of the measure proposed, but the conditions under which it should become law. For example, with regard to the taxation of the nobles, Austria could have no objection to their taxing themselves at their pleasure, if the Austrian government was to have the command of the revenues thus raised; but the Hungarian nobles, while they were ready to contribute money for the service of their country, refused to do so to strengthen the hands of its enemies. They insisted that, if the nation subjected itself to taxation, the diet of the nation should have a voice in the disposition of the funds thus contributed. The Austrian government, not being able to have this measure carried on its own terms, was well content to see its defeat, which was effected at the first table of the diet, by the coalition of the conservative magnates and the partisans of the government.

Again, with regard to the representation of the class of burghers, or inhabitants of the free towns, the Austrian government was not unwilling to see this representation enlarged, if it were done under the old system of election, or any system which promised to continue to the government the control of the votes of the deputies from those cities. The liberals of Hungary, on the other hand, were not merely ready to extend a share of their privileges to the inhabitants of the free towns, but were very desirous to secure the increased influence which the admission of so intelligent a portion of the population to their just share of political rights must bring to the liberal side. But they required that the deputies of the free towns should be elected by the inhabitants of those towns, and not by a self-elected council, which never dared to send a deputy whose principles were offensive to the govern-

ment. It was the contest between the upper and lower houses upon points of this nature, which prevented the passage of these and other important measures, until they were all carried together, upon grounds conformable to the views of the liberal party, in the diet of 1848. The North American Reviewer several times speaks of the small share of political power allowed to the inhabitants of the free cities, under the old constitution of Hungary. He always refers this to the intolerance and grasping ambition of the nobles, and makes no allusion to the difficulties which surrounded this subject. Yet these are explained, not only by De Gerando, but also by the Reviewer's chief authority, De Langsdorff. This last writer gives the following as the words of a Hungarian deputy: —

"Does the foreigner, whom they try to deceive in regard to our social condition, know how the municipal elections are made? At Pest, for example, the rights of citizenship are possessed only by a small number of the inhabitants; the greater number of the bankers, the richest merchants, the professors, artists, make no part of the legal community. A council composed of 110 members joins with itself fifty electors for life, and these, in concert, name the two deputies to the diet. Can these deputies, the product of the most absurd of privileges, with a good grace complain of the constitutional prerogatives which they meet in the diet?"

"These facts," adds M. de Langsdorff, "*are exact.* The municipal organization of the cities, which dates from the Middle Ages, is defective in every point, and may well give occasion to these reprisals of accusation."

The Reviewer founds his opinion of the disposition of the Austrian government in regard to reform upon the nature of the royal propositions offered to the diet. This argument is wholly fallacious. The Austrian government is not, more than any other, entirely independent of public opinion; and in Hungary especially, it has always been forced, in appearance at least, to pay a certain regard to the wishes of the nation. By affecting to take the initiative in reform, by offering to the consideration of the diet some of the questions which occupied the attention of the nation, the Austrian government effected a double purpose; it allayed the excitement of the nation by apparent concession, and secured for itself with the ignorant

and short-sighted the credit of proposing measures, whose success it was, at the same time, retarding and thwarting by every expedient. In order to form a judgment of the Austrian policy in Hungary, and the real views of that government in regard to reform, it is necessary, not merely to look to its public acts, but to know something of the manœuvres and intrigues which were practised both within and without the diet.*

The argument founded on the contents of the royal propositions is again adduced in the article on "The Politics of Europe," to prove that the Austrian government favored reform, and that the nobles of Hungary opposed it. The Reviewer supports his inference by a statement which requires some comment: —

"And at that period [1845], be it remembered, and even for three years afterwards, *the Magyar diet could pass no law whatever, which had not first been submitted and recommended to them in the form of a royal proposition.* This fact proves that the Austrian government decidedly favored the measure long before the whole Magyar nobility could be induced to consent to it." — p. 516.

The same statement is made, but in less express terms, in "The War of Races": —

"The crown had the initiative in all legislative acts."

The initiative in the diet was possessed equally by the king and the second table of the diet. Anciently, when the diet of the nation consisted of but one body, this right was vested in that body; since its division into two separate chambers, the exercise of the right of the initiative has been confined to the chamber of representatives, or second table, called, by distinction, "the States."

The right to an equal share in the legislative power was one of the rights expressly secured to the nation by its ancient laws. This right was confirmed to them by Leopold the Second, in the diet of 1790 – 91. The seventh article of the laws passed by that diet declares, that "the right of giving, repealing, and interpreting laws belongs in common to the lawfully crowned king and the states assembled in the diet."

* It is to be observed, that the royal propositions merely indicated, in general terms, the subjects to be considered, but did not suggest the measures to be adopted, as might be inferred from the language of the Reviewer: — "Adopted nearly all his (Széchény's) *projects of reform*, and submitted them under the form of royal propositions," &c.

In the *Magyarország Leirása* of Fényes, in the chapter on the composition and powers of the diet, we find it stated that "the right of the initiative (*az inditványzási jóg*) belongs equally to the king and the table of deputies." De Gerando makes no doubt upon this point. He says expressly, "The initiative belongs to the king and to the states." The Austrian government has endeavoured to invade this, as almost every other, constitutional right of the Hungarians, and has pretended that its exercise was limited to the presentation of grievances. The Hungarians have always maintained their right in theory, and, practically, have always exercised it. Does the North American Reviewer suppose that the acts passed by the diet of 1825, requiring the king to acknowledge the independence of Hungary, to bind himself never to raise subsidies without the consent of the diet, and to convoke the diet every three years, were "decidedly favored" by the Austrian government? Does he believe that the acts of 1791, 1792, 1807, 1825, 1830, 1832–36, 1839–40, and 1843, in favor of the Hungarian language, were passed under the "countenance and aid" of Austria?

The Hungarian diet has never been deterred by these claims of Austria from discussing any subject in which the nation had an interest, or from passing any resolutions which they thought for its advantage. The Austrian government, on the other hand, while arrogating the power to dictate the subjects on which the diet should deliberate, could only preserve the appearance of possessing this power by proposing for discussion the subjects with which the nation was already occupied. Whenever the Austrian government has proposed to the diet the consideration of questions of reform, it has been when it was well known that these questions would certainly be discussed there in any event. This was the case in 1832, when the government found itself unable to stand against the force of public sentiment, and, for a moment, lulled the distrust of the Hungarian people, by voluntarily offering for their discussion some of the subjects which they had warmly attacked, without leave asked or given, in the diet of 1830. We do not find, however, that the diet of 1832–36 confined itself to the topics suggested by the king. It is not to be supposed that the debates on the

subject of Poland were invited by a royal proposition, or that the resolutions of sympathy passed by the states, and the memorial which they addressed to the king, calling upon him to interpose in behalf of that noble and unfortunate nation, received the "countenance" of the Austrian government. One of the subjects most earnestly discussed in the diet of 1832–36 was the education of the people; the royal propositions gave no authority for these discussions, nor for the numerous resolutions on this subject which were passed by the diet, and which were prevented from becoming law only by the refusal of the royal sanction; for the Austrian government, through the royal prerogative of veto, or, when so decided a measure was deemed inexpedient, by an equivocal reply, could render ineffectual the salutary measures which were passed by the diet, though it had no power to prevent their introduction and acceptance. If the editor of the North American had said that no act passed by the diet of Hungary could become law without the royal sanction, he would have said what was perfectly correct, and might have found in this fact a better explanation of the delay of reform, than in the opposition of the Hungarian nobility.

We have said that the Austrian government yielded so far to the force of public opinion, in 1832, as to propose to the diet which assembled in that year the consideration of some measures of reform. But, finding a new and unexpected support in the division of parties which, for the first time, took place in the Hungarian diet, the Austrian cabinet believed itself strong enough to attempt the recovery of the lost ground. To the next diet, that of 1839, no measures of social or political reform were proposed. Such measures were nevertheless acted upon, and the result was new victories for the cause of progress. The government, notwithstanding the support it derived from the conservative party in the chamber of magnates, found itself unable to stand against the popular movement. It was forced to return to the policy of 1832. The propositions which were presented to the next diet embraced most of the measures which had been so long contended for by the Hungarian reformers. It was commonly said that these propositions were drawn from the Pesti Hirlap. This was the season of the great-

est hope with the patriots of Hungary. But the Austrian government, in the mean time, set at work every engine to defeat the results it was forced to pretend to favor. Corruption without the halls of the diet, and cabal within, were alike ineffectual. The country returned a large majority of liberal members to the diet. This body pursued its labors, not indeed unhindered, but with unflinching resolution, and with a success which left no ground for discouragement. Notwithstanding the strong opposition of the conservatives in the upper house, and the partial secession from the liberal side of some of the earlier advocates of reform, the diet which closed its labors in 1844 added many new and important measures to those which had been accomplished by preceding diets.

"What gives," says De Gerando, "more importance to all these acts is, that they did not emanate from an assembly of legislators furnished with full powers, but from a chamber bound by the instructions of its constituents. It was the nobility of the country which expressed its will through the acts of this body."

In the interval between the closing of the diet of 1843–44 and the assembling of that of 1847, the government took new and extraordinary measures to prevent a liberal majority in the chamber of deputies.* But still in vain. The determined front of opposition which the nation presented forced the government again to lay before the diet for discussion the subjects which chiefly occupied the general attention. Most of the measures which had been demanded by the liberal party, and whose success had been prevented at the last diet by the opposition of the upper house, found a place in the royal propositions. The contest in regard to the election of Kossuth, as member for the county of Pest, was regarded as the last trial of strength between the government party and the opposition. The liberal cause triumphed, and promised likewise to triumph in the diet, even before the convulsions which agitated Europe in the spring of 1848, and shook the central seat of Austrian power, had left the government no course but that of unresisting concession.

The diet which, at this critical period, found itself in-

* See *Christian Examiner*, May, 1850, pp. 488, 489.

trusted with the interests of the country, fulfilled its duties worthily. While it forced from Austria the renunciation of her usurped power, and the recognition of the just and legal rights of the Hungarian nation, it carried the same principles of justice into the civil and political institutions of the country. The inconsistencies and anomalies which had long defaced them were swept away. Taxation was made general; the right of suffrage was limited only by a small property qualification. The deputies to the new diet, which was announced for the month of July of the same year (1848), and which was to complete, in detail, the labors of that which closed in April, were elected under the new law. Such was the position of affairs in the spring of 1848. We will not dwell on the condition and prospects of Hungary at this period. In view of the desolation which has since swept over that unhappy land, of the fate of various misery — the gibbet, the dungeon, distant exile — which has fallen on the noble men who then achieved the redemption of their country, — in view of the after triumph of perfidy and baseness, — this contemplation is too painful.

We will now offer, in reference to the point we have been considering, — the conduct of the Hungarian nobles in regard to reform, — the testimony of the three authorities whom the Reviewer has cited in the beginning of his article, as the chief sources of his information. After what we have said of M. de Gerando's work, our readers will not expect to find there any confirmation of the opinions maintained in "The War of Races." The whole tenor of his book, and the history of reform in Hungary which is to be found there, are indeed utterly at variance with the statements made by the author of that article in regard to the conduct of the nobility or privileged citizens of Hungary. We might multiply extracts on this point, but we shall give but one, taken from his preface, bearing date November, 1847, in which he earnestly calls the attention of his countrymen to the work then going on in Hungary:—

"For fifty years the Hungarian nobility have been engaged in the accomplishment of an immense work. While defending their nationality and resisting Austrian absorption, they have, at the same time, been laboring for the emancipation of the inferior classes; they have been gradually raising them to a level with

themselves, and preparing the way for the reign of equality. These are objects which deserve the applause of all free nations. It is beautiful to behold in the East of Europe, between the empire of Austria and the empire of Russia, a people enthusiastic for generous ideas, advancing with a firm step in the path of civilization.

"Unfortunately, the Hungarians have hitherto excited but a moderate degree of interest. Occupied with our political contests, we only consent to look beyond our own country, to assist at the debates which take place in the only countries which we believe to be, like our own, endowed with free institutions. We cast our eyes on America, England, Spain, Greece; the rest of the world sleeps, we think, in profound silence. No one is aware that the Hungarians wake and work."

M. de Langsdorff, the second authority cited by the Reviewer, speaks thus of the spirit which animated the nobility of Hungary as early as 1825:—

"We ought to say, in effect, that the new Hungary dates from the diet of 1825. It was a true parliament of reform, this assembly in which shone so many generous characters, so much distinguished talent, where, as in the first days of the Constituent Assembly in France, men accomplished great sacrifices, with the same ardor which others show in demanding them. Thenceforward, feudality and its strange laws, the complicated relations that it brings with it, those hostile and inhuman divisions between people living on the same soil, — all is to be battered down. Everywhere common rights are appealed to. The constitution — a thing unheard of — is not attacked by the government alone; there are patriots who dare to say that there can be imagined something more liberal than the Golden Bull, and that, if 'the States' succeed in bringing the Hungarian chancery into the path of reform, there is no more need of dreaming, as in the Middle Ages, of conspiracies and revolt. The modern spirit has penetrated into the old edifice. . . . . The franchises of the Middle Ages are no longer desired. *All demand, and for all*, the liberties of modern times."— *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1er Août, 1848.

Our readers may remember a passage from M. de Langsdorff, given in "The War of Races" (p. 89), in which that writer describes the impression made upon him, when, in crossing the bridge over the Danube, at Pest, he saw the nobles pass over free, while the peasants were subjected to toll. We will continue this extract a little further than it has been given by the writer in the North American Review.

"The feeling which I experienced others shared with me. In 1836, the diet decreed that the nobles should be subjected to toll on the suspension bridge which was about to be constructed at Pest. This was the first breach made in the privileges of the nobility; *and it was by the nobility that it was made.* There, where I felt only a sterile emotion, generous citizens, sacrificing their interests without hesitation, found the opportunity to repair a long injustice. *Since that time the Hungarian nobles have walked resolutely in that path; it is they who, for twenty years, have been laboring to file the chains of their subjects; it is they who, in a solemn day, have willed to break them for ever.*" — *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1er Août, 1848.

M. Desprez, the third and last authority appealed to by the author of "The War of Races," in an article dated 15th December, 1847, gives the following account of the character and views of the opposition or liberal party in the diet, of which Count Louis Batthyányi and Kossuth were at that time among the most distinguished members: —

"The new men who have succeeded the failing champions of primitive Magyarism have known how to distinguish themselves from the ultra Magyar party, yet without separating from it, and, under the name of *progressistes*, have succeeded in founding a great constitutional party, which is not contented with threatening, and sometimes conquering, Austria on the Hungarian soil, but which carries on, even within her own borders, an active and successful propagandism. Besides the concessions which *this party has already extorted from the conservatives for the benefit of the peasantry*, who can henceforward purchase noble property, it has drawn up bold and categorical programmes. Very far from believing in the absolute perfection of the mechanism of the counties and of the two chambers, it accepts these institutions such as they exist. It desires, however, that they should be open to the bourgeoisie, who possess only the shadow of representation. It demands liberty of speech, and liberty of the press, now limited by a censorship, introduced into the kingdom without the consent of the diet. It desires for the diet a right of real control, and an actual responsibility in the agents of power. It wishes, also, the abolition of the privileges which protect feudal property, of the privilege of *aviticitas*, by which lands once sold can be redeemed at a low price by the descendant of the seller, and of that other privilege in virtue of which the nobility is exempt from the land tax and from all direct taxes. It demands the equal distribution of the public burdens. Finally, it loudly demands the emancipation of the soccage peasants; the enfranchisement of

the agricultural class, by the abolition of the *corvées* and of contributions in kind." — *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Déc., 1847.

In a note to this passage, M. Desprez says: — "These questions are now the order of the day in the diet at Presburg. The Austrian government, *yielding to the force of opinion*, itself takes the initiative of a proposition for redeeming the *corvées*."

In an article dated 15 August, 1848, which takes for its subject the work *De l'Esprit Public en Hongrie* of M. de Gerando, M. Desprez thus expresses himself: —

"In reading the history of the contests of the Magyars with Austria, and of their constitutional progress, we are pleased to recognize, with M. de Gerando, their generous qualities, their liberalism, and all the services which they have rendered to modern ideas. They have powerfully contributed to reanimate political life in the veins of old Austria, and now they possess, more than any other people of the empire, the experience of constitutional government and of parliamentary discussions, the spirit of administration and of political eloquence."

With the above passage, from an article written by an open opponent of the Magyars, let the reader compare the following from the North American Review: —

"Many of the characteristics of the Magyar race interest the imagination strongly in their favor; but the sober judgment of one who looks at them under all the light derived from the improved civilization of the nineteenth century cannot but condemn their position as a false one, their institutions as antiquated, and their character and customs as little suited to promote their intellectual and material well-being." — p. 106.

It will not, we believe, be necessary to enter into a labored argument, or to seek out evidence, to prove that the Austrian government has not been zealous in the promotion of reform, but our readers may perhaps be interested to hear, on this point, the authorities cited by the North American Reviewer. The opinion of M. de Gerando is already known to the reader. We shall give a few short extracts, from which his views, both of the conduct of the Austrian government and that of its allies, the conservative magnates, may be inferred. We might give pages to the same purport. The following passages relate to the conduct of the Austrian government during the sitting of the diet of 1832–36: —

"We can understand that the Austrian government should resist the counsels of the Hungarians, and repulse the idea of a war against Russia.* Its extreme prudence made it regard these protestations in favor of liberty and the imprescriptible rights of nations as mere youthful follies. But what is hardly conceivable is, that in questions of reform it should have defended the cause of the aristocracy against the aristocracy itself, that, constrained to declare itself, it should have at length avowed its retrograde tendencies, which it had hitherto disguised under paternal words." — *De l'Esprit Public en Hongrie*, p. 186.

"Once having entered upon a retrograde path, the Austrian government was led on to reject all the ameliorations proposed by the liberal party. The abolition of the *corvées*, the revision of the codes, the organization of the public instruction, demanded by the patriots, were deferred, notwithstanding the efforts of the states." — p. 190.

In speaking of the conduct of the magnates in the diet of 1843–44, he says: —

"It is to be desired that the magnates should understand their duty and second the efforts of the states. The three questions which we have named, those of the impost and the *aviticitas*, and of the *corvées*, would have been already resolved, if the opposition had had a majority in both chambers. But the deputies were forced to withdraw their motions, in consequence of the resistance of the first table." — p. 247.

"The systematic opposition that the magnates opposed to the motions of the states had already provoked lively complaints against the government, which disposed of the upper chamber." — p. 250.

He thus describes the state of feeling in Hungary at the close of the diet of 1843–44: —

"Hungary and Austria were more alienated from each other than ever. The distrust which had taken possession of the minds of the liberals was the keener, that, at the opening of the diet, the country had conceived an immense hope. The deputies

* This refers to the memorial addressed to the king by the Hungarian diet, calling upon him to interpose in behalf of Poland. "They represented that the partition of Poland was an offence against Divine and human justice, that treaties guaranteed to the Poles their liberty and constitutional existence, that this nation had peculiar claims to the gratitude of Austria, which had been by them rescued from the power of the Turks. In conclusion, the states announced that, if these negotiations should result in war, Hungary claimed the honor of making every sacrifice that the defence of this cause might render necessary." — *De l'Esprit Public en Hongrie*, p. 186.

had even abstained from speaking of the ancient griefs of Hungary, in the fear of arresting the new tendency which the cabinet seemed about to give to political affairs. The disenchantment was bitter." — p. 252.

M. de Langsdorff is often the apologist of Austria, and never a very severe censurer of the policy of that government in modern times; but he is not insensible to the difficulties which the Hungarians had to contend with in being placed in dependence on a government which had separate interests, and which favored a system wholly at variance with the Hungarian character and the spirit of their institutions.

"For Hungary, the question was not so simple as it may now appear, especially in France, where we have nothing to consult but our own will. It was not merely a question of replacing the forms now obsolete of the feudal constitution by new institutions; it was necessary that this choice should be ratified by another; that other, let us not forget, was the Austrian government! How was the change to be effected? Certainly all the sacrifices which the Hungarians would make of their ancient privileges would be accepted at Vienna; but would the free institutions to which they were going to sacrifice them be granted in return? They would no longer have the franchises of the Middle Ages; would they have the liberty of the nineteenth century?" — *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1er Déc., 1848.

In an article on Transylvania, M. de Langsdorff thus delicately conveys his views of the reformatory tendencies of the Austrian government: —

"The Austrian government has, it is known, never been animated by an adventurous spirit. It does not believe in logic with a blind faith. Far from having *un ordre social de réchange* for humanity, like so many reformers of our time, it hesitates upon the most simple questions of reform. Far from being of the opinion of those who are disposed to find an institution bad because it is old, it rather believes it good for that very reason. 'There is in things which last,' said an Austrian minister, 'a reason for lasting which makes them deserve to last.' I neither approve nor blame. I show how, and by the influence of what ideas, institutions which seem to be so contrary to the ordinary rules of societies have lasted to our time."

M. Desprez expresses himself with more decision. The following is his account of the formation of the conservative party in Hungary: —

"As the liberal ideas of the Magyar patriots gave not less alarm than the *réveil* of races, it was necessary to find a means of dividing them among themselves in order to paralyze the social movement. Austria had then succeeded, at the time of this great crisis, this troublesome year 1837, in establishing in Hungary a conservative party, or rather a party of immobility, which threatened to be not less fatal to this country than the strife of races playing under the eyes of Cæsar, the game of gladiators."

We will now offer to our readers the testimony of another witness, who is appealed to with respect by the Reviewer in his article on "The Politics of Europe," Mr. John Paget, author of a work on Hungary and Transylvania, published in England about ten years ago; a work justly characterized by the Reviewer as "excellent and impartial." The first extract we shall make relates to the views of the liberal party which was organized in Hungary between 1825 and 1832:—

"In the mean time a party had been springing up in Hungary which, no longer content with merely requiring that the principles of the old constitution should be fairly carried out, desired that important reforms should take place in their institutions. The men who most strenuously opposed the government of former times, did so for the maintenance of their own peculiar privileges; the object of the present opposition was rather to cede privileges which were incompatible with the welfare of Hungary, but at the same time to obtain stronger guarantees for the maintenance of their rights as freemen, and gradually to extend those rights to others. They saw their country, in name possessing a free constitution, laboring under all the evils of a tyranny, without its small advantages, and they determined, while retaining the freedom bequeathed to them by their ancestors, to disencumber it from the barbarisms by which it was surrounded. The wild schemes of revolution which turned the heads of all Europe towards the end of the last century no longer disturbed them, but they saw that a gradual reform was both useful and necessary. The favorite objects of their desires were, after strengthening the nationality of Hungary, freedom of commerce and an improved commercial code; the navigation of the Danube, and the improvement of internal communication; increased freedom and education of the peasantry, the repeal of the laws preventing the free purchase and sale of landed property, perfect equality of all religions, and the freedom of the press. For the greater part of these objects, they are still struggling." —Vol. I. p. 161.

Mr. Paget's views of the conduct of the chamber of magnates in relation to reform, as compared with that of the deputies, may be gathered from the following:—

"As in England, the upper chamber here is considered the representative of the stationary system, and, in a country where the existing evils cry so loudly for reform, it may be supposed that it has not the voice of the country with it." — Vol. i. p. 178.

"The upper chamber has no power of bringing forward any measure, nor, I believe, even of proposing amendments to those sent up from below; the power of veto or approval is all that is granted to it: but this it uses most liberally; for, in the present session, the same question has been rejected eleven times, after as many approvals by the deputies." — p. 183.

The bill thus rejected, as Mr. Paget informs us in another place, was that for giving the peasant the unrestricted privilege of buying and selling land, and the enjoyment of equal rights before the law. "Eleven times," says Mr. Paget, "the commons passed this bill; eleven times the magnates rejected it; at last a majority of two voices was obtained against it in the commons, that is, against its immediate consideration, and it was accordingly put off to another diet."

"Among the magnates," says Mr. Paget, "we must expect the most striking exceptions from the ordinary standard, whether of good or evil; but it is to the second class, the landed gentry, that the country must look as its main stay and support. With less refinement of manners, and less of that easy address which nothing but living in the world can give, with a less extended education, especially in modern languages, and with, perhaps, less freedom from national prejudices, the untitled nobility still possess a much greater knowledge of their country, and a much better will to maintain its rights and improve its institutions, than the more brilliant magnates." — Vol. i. p. 414.

From the following extract, taken from Mr. Paget's account of the career of Széchényi, the reader may infer his views of the dispositions of Austria in regard to the progress of reform in Hungary:—

"During the earlier part of the last diet, a strong opposition was formed in the upper chamber, chiefly under the guidance of Széchényi, which contained many of the most wealthy and talented of the rising generation. From their moderation, their union, and their knowledge of business, this party, though small in numbers, was acquiring so great an influence, that all the power of

the court was employed to break it up. The Transylvanian magnates were called away by the opening of their own diet. Those in government employ were hastily recalled to their bureaux; this man received a pension, another desired a decoration and hung dishonor at his button-hole, and, if a third was too high for such poor bribery, he was recommended to travel, and accepted a passport to convey him from the sphere of his duty. Széchényi, though deserted, was more difficult to dispose of, but that 'every man has his price' is always the belief of an immoral government; and they found the means of withdrawing the patriot from the fulfilment of, perhaps, the higher duty, by offering him a more arduous one. Széchényi was made sole commissioner for improving the navigation of the Lower Danube." — Vol. I. pp. 224, 225.

It is not easy to ascertain what the writer of "The War of Races" conceives to have been the actual state of Hungary, or what progress he intends his readers to suppose that reform had made there before the breaking out of the war. No distinct, connected account of this subject is anywhere given. The statements in regard to it which occur in the course of the article are so inconsistent with each other, and so discordant in themselves, that the reader not previously informed on the subject is deprived of all power of judgment; while the frequent changes of tense in the same sentence, the occasional introduction of such qualifying phrases as "but yesterday," "until very recently," &c., alternating with the most positive assertions in regard to the barbarous state of Hungary and the subsistence of feudal institutions there at the present time, would seem to indicate that the mind of the writer was in a like state of uncertainty. In regard to this portion of the subject, the Reviewer appears chiefly to have consulted the writers in the *Deux Mondes*. The slight notices of reform which are found in "The War of Races" are drawn from the articles of M. de Langsdorff. The essays of this writer, and also those of M. Desprez, were written at different times, with different degrees of knowledge, in different states of feeling, and, we may add, with political views varying somewhat with the varying position of affairs. The Reviewer has entirely overlooked these circumstances, and, going through these articles, has transcribed statements and opinions from each, without giving himself any pains to reconcile them with each

other, or with those views of his subject which are apparently original with himself. These writers differ from themselves; they differ yet more from each other. The Reviewer has drawn from both with an admirable impartiality, and has left to the discerning reader the task of harmonizing these discordant materials, or of neutralizing one portion of the article by another, as may best suit his pleasure. We will lay before our readers the most important of the passages in which the writer of "The War of Races" conveys information on the political and social condition of Hungary. On page 86 we have the following statement:—

"Its remoteness and isolation have prevented it [Hungary] from sharing in the improvements of modern times; and its institutions, military, civil, and political, *are* those of the Middle Ages. The feudal system *existed* there *but yesterday* in full vigor."

On page 87 the reader will find the following account of the success of attempts at reform in Hungary:—

"Hungary has been aptly compared to an old feudal castle, with its donjons and moats, its battlements and portcullis, which the modern reformers wished to transform at once into an elegant and convenient modern habitation. The first step necessary in so sweeping a reform was to level it with the ground; and those who had made this rash attempt soon found that they had miscalculated the strength of this antique and massive pile. They succeeded only in pulling down some of the outworks upon their own heads. Among these classes so widely separated, among races that are foreign, and even hostile to each other, with different religions, different tongues, and different civilizations, it was in vain to think of introducing the modern ideas of democracy and equality, and the Magyars themselves have never attempted it."

Who, then, were these modern reformers who wished to transform the old feudal castle into a convenient and modern habitation, and, in order to effect this, made the "rash attempt" to level it with the ground? Does the Reviewer mean to impute this precipitate zeal to the Austrian government, or to Count Széchényi, whose wisdom and prudence he so much commends?

On pages 88, 89, we have the following:—

"*Leaving aside, for the present, the changes which have been made for the last ten years*, it may be said that all the political

and civil institutions of the country *were* exclusively *contrived* for the benefit of this dominant race, who form, be it remembered, less than a third part of the population, and, *down to the outbreak of the present war*, these institutions were exclusively controlled and managed by them."

We confess ourselves unable to comprehend why the Reviewer thus cautiously premises, before stating the purposes for which he supposes the political institutions of Hungary to have been *contrived*, that he leaves aside the changes which have been made for the last ten years. The validity of statements concerning the framing of institutions many centuries old, can hardly, it would seem, be affected by any changes made during the last ten years. Why, indeed, does the Reviewer refer to these changes at all, in this connection, if the political and civil institutions of the country were so little affected by them that, down to the outbreak of the war, these institutions were still "exclusively controlled and managed" by the dominant race for whose benefit they were "exclusively contrived"? Again, why does the Reviewer fix "the outbreak of the recent war" as the limit of this exclusive control? Does he mean to imply that the Magyar nobles, who went to war in order to preserve their privileges, abandoned them immediately on its commencement?

The Reviewer then proceeds to speak of the privileges of the Hungarian nobility, and urges the great improbability of a voluntary resignation of these privileges, on their part, appealing to the evidence to which we have before referred as that on which he rests his opinion, the internal evidence, namely, founded on the selfishness inherent in human nature.

"That these immunities were precious in the eyes of the nobles, and were *jealously guarded*, we can well believe, inasmuch as they secured to them entire exemption from taxation, all the burdens of the state being borne by the peasants. So far was this principle carried, that, down to 1840, the nobles were not required to pay the ordinary toll in passing the bridges which were erected for the public convenience." — p. 89.

The Reviewer illustrates his position by a passage from M. de Langsdorff, in which that writer describes the impression made upon him by seeing the peasants pay toll upon the bridge over the Danube at Pest, while

the nobles passed over free. He then immediately proceeds, following M. de Langsdorff, to relate, that

"The diet in 1836 was induced to vote that the nobility should be subject to toll on passing the fine suspended bridge by which it had been resolved to supersede the floating one at Pesth. The nobles deserve the more credit for this act, for, as they have the entire control of both tables of the Diet, they were called upon to *vote down one of the privileges of their own order.* Though the amount of the toll was insignificant, the passage of the law was acknowledged to be a point of great importance, *as it would sacrifice one of the most cherished principles of the ancient constitution of the country, the exemption of the nobility from all public contributions whatever.*" — p. 90.

Thus "jealously" did the nobles of Hungary "guard their immunities." The Reviewer, indeed, endeavours to detract from the merit of this sacrifice, by dwelling upon the difficulty with which it was obtained: —

"After the debate, opinions seemed so equally divided, that the Palatine, who presided, durst not declare that the bill had passed in the usual way, by acclamation; for the first time in the history of a Hungarian Diet, and though there were great doubts of the legality of such a course, the votes were ordered to be counted, and, in a full house, a majority of six were reported on the side of generosity and justice." — p. 90.

It apparently escaped the recollection of the Reviewer, that the Palatine of Hungary is, *ex officio*, president of the upper house. The chamber of representatives is presided over by the *Királyi Személynök* (or *personalis præsentiæ regiæ locum tenens*). It was in the chamber of magnates, therefore, where, according to the Reviewer, measures of reform "were received with most favor," that this small majority was "reported on the side of generosity and justice."

Immediately following this account of the sacrifice on the part of the nobles of one of their most important privileges, — on the very next page, — we find the following extraordinary account of the condition of Hungary and the conduct of the Magyar nobles: —

"The *present* position of the Magyars in Hungary is very much what that of the Normans in England was *for the first century or two after the Conquest.* Though William had fair pretensions to the crown by right of birth, — his title, in fact, was quite as good as that of Harold, — he treated the Saxons, after

he had subdued them, as if his only claim to their allegiance rested upon the sword. He exercised all the rights of a conqueror according to the ideas of his own barbarous age; and his chivalrous but rapacious nobles, with their greedy followers, eagerly seconded his designs. To break the spirit of the conquered Saxons by the insults as much as by the losses inflicted upon them, to proscribe their language as well as to rob them of their estates, to ridicule their habits and to brand them as an inferior and degraded race, who were unfit to hold office and unworthy to bear arms, was the settled policy of the earlier Norman kings." — p. 91.

The reader is left to conclude that the "settled policy" of the Magyar nobility of 1848 and 1849 was that of the earlier Norman kings of England. Otherwise it is not easy to account for this long enumeration of the sufferings of the Saxon people, — a subject with which, doubtless, the readers of the North American were already sufficiently acquainted. The Reviewer must have designed, by this familiar illustration, to bring forcibly before the minds of his readers the injustice and oppression which, according to him, drove the Slavonians and Wallachs to rebellion. We have already shown that no such condition of things as that supposed by the Reviewer has existed in Hungary for at least eight hundred years. Since the reign of St. Stephen, all the races inhabiting the kingdom have composed the Hungarian nation, and have shared equally in all its honors and all its sufferings. Was, then, this state of things introduced in the spring of 1848, when the Hungarians obtained a "virtual independence" of Austria? Did the Magyars seize this occasion to exclude their fellow-countrymen from the privileges of citizenship? Were the other races branded, at that time, as inferior and degraded, and declared unworthy of bearing arms and of holding office? The first officer commissioned by the Hungarian ministry, at the commencement of the insurrectionary movements in Croatia and Slavonia, was the Slavonian Hrabowszky; in the first battle which was fought in the late war, the Hungarians were commanded by the Wallachian Moga; one of the most distinguished of their generals was the Servian Damjanich; when sentence of expulsion from the throne had been pronounced on the house of Hapsburg, the first act of the independent

nation was to confer the highest office in the state upon the "Slovac" Kossuth.

After the description of present Hungary, quoted above, the Reviewer takes a survey of ancient Hungary, through which our limits will not allow us to follow him; we must pass over, therefore, without comment, the many errors with which it is studded. On page 94, the Reviewer comes under the influence of M. de Langsdorff's article of the 15th December, 1848, and the condition of the peasantry is now seen under a new aspect:—

"The situation of the peasants in reference to that of the nobility is not one of so great hardship and injustice as we might at first sight suppose. The peasants do not own the lands which they cultivate, but they hire them of the proper landlords, on what may be called a perpetual lease; only, instead of paying a fixed sum annually, which would be called rent, they are held to pay all the taxes or public burdens, to pay tithes also, part of which go to the landlords and part to the clergy, and to perform certain other services for the benefit of the owners of the estate. The aggregate of these burdens does not amount to a fair rent for the value of the land; the proof of which is, that a peasant's holding, or his tenant right, is good property, which commands a price in the market, and, as such, is often bought up by the lord of the manor himself."

This was the condition of the peasants of Hungary prior to 1848. The diet of that year conferred upon them the absolute ownership of the land, abolishing the tithes and *corvées* without any equivalent from the peasant himself, and decreeing an indemnity to the proprietor from the state. The mode in which this indemnity should be effected was still under consideration in the diet, when the discussion was interrupted by the necessity for taking measures for the defence of the country. The peasant, however, was not suffered to wait till this question could be decided, but was put in immediate possession of his land.

The Reviewer, after speaking of the debates which had been carried on in the diet "for the last thirteen years," on the subject of the abolition of the burdens on the land, and the mode in which the proprietor was to be compensated, "*all parties* being," as he says, "equally desirous of emancipating the peasants from these feudal obligations," relates the final adjustment of the affair in the following manner:—

"Kossuth and his party hastily cut the knot, by decreeing the abolition of the feudal burdens, making over the entire ownership of the lands to the peasants, and promising to indemnify the landlords out of a fund to be created by confiscating the property of the clergy. This was simply robbing Peter to pay Paul, because the assistance of Paul was needed to carry out the revolution. Nobody, it was supposed, would care about the plunder of the church."

This assertion that Kossuth and his party "promised" to indemnify the proprietors by confiscating the property of the clergy, is apparently founded on a passage in De Langsdorff's article of the 15th December. As this offers one example among many of the manner in which the intimations of the writers in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* have become established facts in the North American, we will give the passage from De Langsdorff:—

"The revolution of March has cut the Gordian knot. The tithes have been purely and simply abolished, and the property of the urbarial lands assigned to the peasants who were actually holders. The property of the clergy, *qu'on dépouillerait plus tard, devait fournir les fonds d'une future indemnité.*"

Our readers will observe that here is nothing about a promise; there is only a vague intimation thrown out that such a measure was probable, or, at most, that it had been suggested. In another article, M. de Langsdorff, in speaking on the same subject, says,—

"The *corvées* had been already abolished, the tithes were suppressed without indemnity; the most conservative minds demanded that the goods of the clergy should be seized to provide for a future indemnity."

Who the conservatives were who made this suggestion, M. de Langsdorff does not explain. Kossuth, however, was not among them. We find, in Schütte's history, the plan drawn up by Kossuth for providing an indemnity for the former proprietors of the land, and there is no reference whatever made in it to the property of the clergy.*

The editor of the North American, having stated the fact of the abolition of the burdens of the peasant, leaves to his readers the task of reconciling this with his pre-

* *Ungarn und der ungarische Unabhängigkeitskrieg*, II. 108.

vious statements, and passes once more into the regions of antiquity. The next fact which he lays before his readers is, that "the Magyars continued to be pagans for a century after their establishment in the country." When he returns, after two or three discursive pages, to the Magyars of the present day, it is to conjecture what might have been the probable result of the war, if the Magyar nobility "*had begun by the abnegation of the enormous and unjust privileges of their own order.*"

Passing over three or four pages of various disquisition, we arrive at that portion of the article which is drawn from that of M. de Langsdorff of the 1st of December, 1848, in which that writer gives a sketch of the labors of Széchényi and the popularity which rewarded them. We here find the following passage, which may be compared, and, if possible, reconciled with that quoted above from page 87 (*ante*, p. 463).

"The most intelligent among them [the Magyars] have long admitted the necessity of great reforms, *and during the twenty years which immediately preceded the recent war many beneficial changes were actually made*, and the way was paved for others of greater moment. The credit of these ameliorations is chiefly due to Count Széchény, one of the noblest and best reformers whom any age or country can boast." — *N. A. Review*, Vol. LXX. p. 106.

On the next page the Reviewer continues his own refutation as follows: —

"Following up warmly in the Diet the schemes which he [Széchényi] had broached in his pamphlets, he soon had the satisfaction of *finding himself at the head of a numerous and active party, both in the legislature and the country at large, who eagerly seconded his designs.* The discussion was carried on with great spirit on both sides, and the interest which it excited threw all other objects into the shade. 'The old feudal edifice, erected by St. Stephen, fortified by Andreas II., besieged and breached for three centuries by Austria, was to open its gate to a more powerful assailant, *the spirit of the age.*' The Diet of 1836 adopted several of Széchény's proposed reforms; other steps in the same direction were taken by that of 1840; and the discussion of others was interrupted only by the thunder of the revolutions of Paris and Vienna."

The Reviewer then proceeds — still following De Langsdorff — to give an account of the great popularity of

Széchényi, and the marks of respect and gratitude which were bestowed upon him by his countrymen.

"His popularity became immense, his name was in every mouth, *and the counties vied with each other in sending him addresses of congratulation and rights of citizenship.* When he arrived in any village, the peasants went out to meet him with music, and called him their father and liberator. The diet of Transylvania sent him an entire gold pen several feet in length, and *the national academy, the circle of the nobility, and the institute of the Hungarian language, at the same time, elected him their president,*" &c. — pp. 107, 108.

Will it be believed that, on the very next page, the Reviewer asserts that "*the opposition to Széchény's plans proceeded chiefly from the inferior or untitled nobility,*" — this very nobility who "vied with each other in sending him addresses of congratulation"? Congratulation upon what occasion? Upon the success of measures which they regarded with so much displeasure? From what motive did the counties bestow upon Széchényi the rights of citizenship, which included those of speaking and voting in their assemblies? In order to afford him an opportunity of advocating in their very midst the measures to which they offered, according to the North American Reviewer, even a "furious opposition"?

We have now laid before our readers the statements and counter-statements contained in "The War of Races" in relation to the condition of Hungary prior to the late war. We have, we believe, quoted all the passages in which notice is taken of the reforms effected there. These passages will probably be sufficient to excite in the mind of the reader at least a doubt of the validity of some of the other statements contained in that article; but, taking them in connection with the statements, and especially with the often repeated assertion, that the war was entered into in order "to defend feudal institutions," it will hardly be inferred that the writer intends to convey the impression that any essential changes had taken place in the Hungarian constitution. We believe, therefore, that the reader will experience some surprise when, on turning to the article on "The Politics of Europe," he shall there find, not only that the work of social reform had been carried almost to completion before the events of March, 1848, but that this had been "fully shown" in

"The War of Races." The passage in which this statement is made is so remarkable, that we give it entire: —

"The most extaordinary statement which has been made for Kossuth, and his party, as an evidence of their liberal principles, is that they abolished feudalism and emancipated the serfs, who constituted four fifths of the population of Hungary. We are sorry to see this claim put forth in the 'brief explanatory report' published under the name of Governor Ujházy, though, for reasons already intimated, we do not consider him as the responsible author of it. One would suppose, from reading the last paragraph of that report, that nothing had been done towards the emancipation of the serfs till after March, 1848, when Kossuth and his party came into power. The truth is, as we have once before fully shown, that this work of social reform in Hungary was begun by the noble Széchény, the Washington of his country, as far back as 1836, and was carried on by him under the direct aid and countenance of the Austrian government, and in spite of the furious opposition of the lesser Magyar nobility (who afterwards formed the revolutionary party) in the lower house, almost to completion before the outbreak in March took place. It was carried so far, and the feeling excited in favor was so great, that the Bathyány-Kossuth ministry, on its accession to power, was compelled, though very reluctantly, to finish the work. For proof, we need only refer to the quotation from Degerando (*ante*, p. 329) in the article on Magyar Literature in this number." — *N. A. Review*, Vol. LXX. pp. 515, 516.

The reader who shall turn to the quotation referred to by the Reviewer, in the expectation of finding proof, if not of the reluctance with which the Bathyányi-Kossuth ministry finished the work of reform, — proof of which is hardly to be looked for in a work published in 1845, — at least of the countenance and aid afforded to this work by the Austrian government, and the furious opposition offered to it by the Magyar nobility, will be somewhat surprised at its contents. That our readers may have an example of what the editor of the North American accepts as proof, we give the extract from De Gerando referred to by him.*

"*To the Hungarian nobility belongs the honor of having been the first to propose all these new laws. Under the eyes of a ret-*

* This extract is from M. de Gerando's work on Transylvania, published in 1845. It is found on the 329th page of the North American Review for April, 1850, in an article on the works of Charles Kisfaludy.

rograde government, they are accomplishing a task before which the aristocracies of every other country have shrunk back. They prepare the reign of equality, before the people for whose good they labor have yet thought of raising their voice. We have said that the people, raised by degrees from servitude, have now become citizens, since, according to the last decisions, they have now a right to possess the land. Let us add, that the nobles have now resolved to take on themselves half the expenses of the comitat, which the peasants have borne alone up to this time. Not only does this aristocracy accord the rights granted to the inferior classes, but it also despoils itself of the privileges that it has possessed for ten centuries; it offers spontaneously to pay imposts to which it has never been subjected, and breaks of itself the last barrier which separates it from the people. We regret that Europe is not more attentive to these noble efforts. This is a work which merits the ardent sympathy of all free countries; and it belonged to a people generous as the Magyars to give this spectacle to the world."

This will furnish the reader with an example of the manner in which the editor of the North American "accepts the facts" of M. de Gerando, and draws his own conclusions.

"Writing in 1845," continues the Reviewer, "Degerando represents the destruction of feudalism as even then complete; and at that period, be it remembered, and even for three years afterwards, the Magyar Diet could pass no law whatever, which had not been first submitted and recommended to them in the form of a royal proposition. This fact proves that the Austrian government decidedly favored the measure long before the whole Magyar nobility could be induced to consent to it." — *N. A. Review*, Vol. LXX. p. 516.

We have already commented upon this passage, and pointed out the error contained in it, *ante*, pp. 450, 451.

The Reviewer having proved all he wishes by the supposed evidence of M. de Gerando, immediately proceeds to discredit his witness: —

"*But Degerando is wrong;* for Széchény's work was not completed in 1845. He took the first step, as we have stated, in 1836, by inducing the nobles, after a hard contest, to give up their much-prized immunity from taxation, so far as to consent to pay toll on the suspension bridge about to be constructed at Pesth. Four years afterwards, he succeeded in carrying through the Diet several other bills tending to the removal of feudalism, and in

1843, at his instigation, the law was passed which Degerando refers to, making the peasants capable of owning land and holding office." — p. 516.

The laws passed by the diet of 1843, giving the peasant the right of owning noble property and of holding office, owed their success in the chamber of magnates to the influence of Széchényi; but these measures originated in the chamber of representatives. But how does it happen that no reference at all was made to these laws of 1843 in "The War of Races," and that they are now first brought forward in order to detract from the merit of the men who took the lead in the reforms of 1848?

"Nothing now remained," continues the Reviewer, "for the final adjustment of the affair, but the embarrassing question between the landlords and the peasants, as to the ownership of the lands occupied by the latter. For an explanation of the difficulties of this question, we must refer to our former article (*ante*, p. 95). A hasty and unjust settlement of it is the only step tending to the abolition of feudalism, the credit of which can be claimed by the Magyar revolutionary party." — *N. A. Review*, Vol. LXX. pp. 516, 517.

Collecting all the facts given by the editor of the North American, in both his articles, in regard to reform in Hungary, we find, then, that "for twenty years preceding the recent war," beneficial changes had been going on (p. 106); that each successive diet, during that period, passed new measures of reform (pp. 107, 516); that, after 1843, only a single question remained to be settled (p. 516); and that this question was settled in 1848 (p. 517); when "the work of social reform" *was finished* — reluctantly, indeed, but still finished — by the Bathyanyi-Kossuth ministry (p. 516). What, then, is the meaning of the statement made by the Reviewer on page 86, that "*the remoteness and isolation of Hungary have prevented it from sharing in the improvements of modern times?*" What is the meaning of that extraordinary parallel, on page 90, between the condition of Hungary at "the present time," and that of England under the earlier Norman kings? Above all, what is the meaning of the assertion, so often repeated by the Reviewer, that the Magyars engaged in the war with Austria in order to defend and maintain their feudal institutions, when, by his

own statements, six months before the war began there were already no feudal institutions left to maintain.

But although the account given by the North American Reviewer of reform in Hungary is sufficient in itself to refute his statements in regard to the objects of the war, it gives a very imperfect idea of all that was accomplished. In the spring of 1848, all the immunities that were so "jealously guarded," all the "distinctions between privileged and unprivileged classes," that, according to the Reviewer, "are preserved with so much care" in Hungary, were abolished. An equal system of taxation was established. A law was passed for the equal representation of all classes of the population. By this law, the right of suffrage was restricted only by a small property qualification, which would exclude none of the more intelligent and industrious of the peasantry from its enjoyment. It was understood that this restriction was to be only temporary, and that the right was gradually to be extended until it was made universal, as the measures which were to be taken for the education of the people prepared them for the duties of citizenship. This restriction was deemed essential to the safety of the country. The extreme ignorance in which the lowest class of the peasantry lay sunk exposed them, not less than their poverty, to the corrupting arts of the emissaries of despotism, and of unprincipled political intriguers. It was found necessary, therefore, in the peculiar circumstances of the country, that all who had a voice in its government should have a stake in its welfare.

We cannot but express our surprise at the omission of all reference to this change in the Hungarian constitution, by the author of "The War of Races." That writer speaks, as our readers will have observed, in the present tense, when he attributes to nobles, and to *Magyar* nobles, the exclusive possession of political rights. He asserts that the institutions of the country, "military, civil, and political, *are* those of the Middle Ages."

Let us now take the first general statement which he makes in regard to the political condition of Hungary. It is given in reference to the objects of the war: —

"The war in Hungary, then, on the part of the Magyars, was neither a struggle for national independence, nor an attempt to establish a republic on the wreck of their ancient monarchical

institutions. Hungary is the most aristocratic nation in Europe; nowhere else *are* the distinctions and immunities of the nobles so strongly marked, or the nobles themselves so numerous in comparison with the whole population, *or the dividing lines between the privileged and unprivileged classes preserved with so much care.*" — p. 82.

We are the more surprised at the absence, on the part of the Reviewer, of all notice of the change effected in the system of representation in Hungary, inasmuch as M. de Langsdorff more than once refers to it, and, so far from intimating that it was the subject of any reluctance, or even hesitation, on the part of the Hungarian nobles, represents it as one of the first measures to which they solicited the approbation of the king, in the eventful days of March, 1848. In an article entitled "*La Hongrie en* 1848," — an article on which it is evident much of the research of the Reviewer has been expended, — M. de Langsdorff mentions "*the representation of the whole population*" as among the demands contained in the address drawn up by Kossuth and presented to the king in March. We transcribe the account given of this address by M. de Langsdorff. It contains some errors, but is correct as regards the essential facts: —

"The chief of the most advanced opposition in the last diets, the advocate Kossuth, found himself suddenly carried to the head of the movement; he caused an address to be voted by the second chamber without the intervention of the magnates. This address was the true programme of the revolution. It demanded the nomination of a ministry purely Hungarian, responsible to the diet for all the acts of power; *a new representation of the whole population, without distinction of rank or birth;* the organization of a national guard; the transference of the diet from Presburg to Pest; finally, a liberal constitution for all the other states of the empire. For the rest, this address declared the firm wish and need of Hungary to remain indissolubly attached to the empire." — *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Oct., 1848.

Let the reader compare the above passage from M. de Langsdorff with the following from "The War of Races": —

"In fact, Kossuth's party, ever since it was organized, has been endeavouring to effect a complete separation of Hungary from Austria, *the preservation of feudal privileges and the domination of the Magyar race* being of more importance in their eyes than

the promotion of the commercial and other material interests of the country and the intellectual cultivation of its people."— p. 111.

M. de Langsdorff afterwards details — not with approbation, certainly — the principal measures passed by the diet of Hungary in the spring of 1848. Among them,

"An electoral law was voted; *the right of suffrage was conferred on all who possessed a capital of* 300 *florins.*"

This electoral law, with the other acts passed by the diet in March, 1848, received the sanction of the king on the 11th of April, and went into immediate operation. The deputies to the next diet, which assembled in July of the same year, were chosen under it.* Yet the North American Reviewer, when, in commenting upon the Hungarian manifesto of April, 1849, he desires to impress upon the minds of his readers, that the form of government to be adopted by the diet must certainly be one which would "preserve" the "distinctions and immunities of the nobles," does not hesitate to give the following account of the diet of Hungary as then existing: —

"The fourth resolution appended to the Declaration of Independence expressly provides that 'the form of government to be adopted for the future shall be fixed by the diet of the nation,' in both branches of which the representatives of the titled and untitled nobility have a great superiority of numbers, and exercise undisputed control; where, in fact, until within a few years, the third estate or the commons were hardly represented at all; and to which *even now the peasants, who constitute four fifths of the population, do not send a single representative.*" — p. 82.

The Reviewer then proceeds to find in the words of their manifesto itself evidence confirmatory of the charges he has brought against the Hungarians. He adduces a passage from the fourth resolution, as found in the English translation of that document, and aids the comprehension of his readers by a careful explanation of its meaning. The clause found within brackets, in the fol-

* The changed appearance of the diet under the new order of things is thus described by Schütte: —

"The diet was opened by the Palatine with the usual solemnities. The whole representative assembly bore a much more European aspect than formerly. The old Hungarian national costume, the so-called Tablabiró, or Czifra dress, with the spurs and sword, was worn by few. The greater part wore the modern coat. Some peasants sat in their beautiful peasant costume on the benches at the right, and Ladislaus Madarász, the leader of the radicals, in a paletot on the extreme left."

lowing extract, is a gloss furnished by the Reviewer on the passage he has italicized.

"The resolution then goes on to say, that, 'until this point shall be decided, *on the basis of the ancient and received principles which have been recognized for ages*, [that is, acknowledging the absolute supremacy of the Magyar race in the country which they conquered, and where they have been lords of the soil and the dominant nation for eight or nine centuries,] the government of the united countries, their possessions and dependencies, shall be conducted on the personal responsibility, and under the obligation to render an account of his acts, by Louis Kossuth.'" — *North American Review*, Vol. LXX. p. 82.

We believe that most persons who have read the manifesto, or even those portions of it only which are extracted in the North American, will look for some explanation of the italicized passage more consistent with the tenor of that document than the one bestowed upon it by the Reviewer. There is, however, no occasion, so far as a knowledge of the intentions of the Hungarians is concerned, to seek for a solution of its meaning. No such passage is to be found in their manifesto. A reference to the Magyar original of this document will show that the apparent inconsistency is to be attributed to an error in the translation. The following is a literal translation from the original of the fourth resolution appended to the manifesto:* — "The diet of the nation shall establish the future form of government in all its details, but until this shall have been established in conformity with the *above* fundamental principles (*a' fönebbi alapelvek*)," &c.; — that is to say, in conformity with the *preceding resolutions;* namely, that Hungary is an independent European state, that the house of Hapsburg is for ever excluded from the throne, &c. The translator probably took *fönebbi* (*above*) to mean *former*, and paraphrased it into

* The following is a literal translation of the whole of the fourth resolution: —

"The diet of the nation shall establish the future form of government for the country in all its details; but until this shall have been established in conformity with the above fundamental principles, Louis Kossuth, who has been by acclamation, and the unanimous approbation of the members of the diet, named governing President, shall, together with the ministers hereafter to be named by him, upon his own and their personal responsibility, and under an obligation of accountability, govern the country in its whole extent." See Szilágyi, *A Magyar Forradalom, Története* 1848 *és* 1849 *ben*. Pest, 1850.

the passage which the Reviewer italicizes, and which has furnished the single piece of evidence to be found in his article.

Entirely ignoring, then, all the changes that had been made in the constitution of Hungary, the Reviewer proceeds — taking for granted that the nobles of Hungary remained in the full possession of all their privileges and immunities, and further assuming that they were exclusively of the Magyar race — to assert that it was for the defence and maintenance of these privileges and immunities, that the Hungarians took up arms. Not less than six times is this asserted in express terms in "The War of Races," and it is taken for granted throughout the article. On page 120, the measures against which the author of that article supposes the resistance of the Magyars to have been especially directed, are specified.

"It" — the war in Hungary — "was an attempt on the part of the Magyar untitled nobility, 600,000 in number, to preserve the ancient feudal constitution of the state, which guaranteed their aristocratic privileges and the dominion of their race against the liberal constitution granted by the emperor of Austria, which destroyed all distinctions of rank and race, and established the modern ideas *of equal representation, equal suffrage, the freedom of the press, and the liberty of individuals, on the ruins of feudalism.*"

All the benefits which the Reviewer supposes to have been offered to the people of Hungary in the constitution of Ollmütz — not to inquire, at present, into the right of Francis Joseph to bestow a constitution on that country — had been already secured to them by the acts of their own diet, a year before. But these acts were the expression of the will of the people, were passed in good faith, and from a regard to the interests of the country.

To speak seriously of the terms of the constitution of Ollmütz would be but a waste of words; and it is the less necessary to comment upon its provisions, inasmuch as the Reviewer himself, in another part of his article, seems to admit that he regards it as having been merely the expedient of the moment. In speaking of this very constitution, he says: —

"The policy of Austria is evident enough; we grant her no credit but for submitting frankly and without reserve to what had become a political necessity. . . . . Royalty is almost always

more prompt to sacrifice its prerogatives, than an aristocracy is to abandon its privileges; *for the former hopes to retrieve at a future day the ground which it has lost*, while the latter, if once depressed, can never rise."

This custom of royalty — the granting of concessions in seasons of emergency which are to be retracted on the first opportunity — is a system whose success has been more encouraging to the monarchs who have practised it, than to the nations who have trusted them.

The passage last quoted is found on page 102. On page 121, the Reviewer tells us that Austria "*engages in a crusade for the purpose of forcing a liberal constitution upon feudal and aristocratic Hungary.*" After proceeding to eulogize the "magnanimity" of Russia, he remarks on his own statements, with great *naïveté*, — "This statement of the case will take most persons in this country by surprise."

Neither of the authorities cited by the North American Reviewer gives any support to his so often repeated assertion, that the Magyars took up arms in support of feudal institutions. Neither De Langsdorff nor Desprez, though both are decided opponents of the Magyars, dreams of attributing to them any such design. We have already seen that M. de Langsdorff enumerates among the first demands made by what the Reviewer calls "the revolutionary party," the very same measures against which that writer supposes them to rebel. He brings against this party, and especially against Kossuth, charges the very reverse of those alleged against them by the author of "The War of Races."

"Kossuth does not resemble the Hungarian liberals, as we have been accustomed to meet them, always animated by chivalrous and somewhat aristocratic sentiments; he is a radical of the new revolutionary school, ready for every thing, who will seek to disembarrass himself of the nobility when he shall have disembarrassed himself of Austria. He has already signified to the chamber of magnates, that its existence is only provisory and tolerated, that it will be reformed by the sovereign assembly, and reduced to a sort of state council. It is he who has arrested the liberal movement in Hungary, to make of it a revolutionary and demagogic movement. It is he, who, to realize dreams of universal equality, more chimerical in Hungary than anywhere else, has not feared to overthrow the whole political

and social condition of his country." — *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Oct., 1848.

What the Hungarians themselves considered their own objects to be, the reader may learn from the following extracts from a speech of one of the "revolutionary party," whom the North American Reviewer honors with reprobation only second to that which he bestows on Kossuth. Szemere, in a speech delivered in the last session of the diet in July, 1849, takes a retrospect of the original objects of their revolution: —

"There are three fundamental principles on which our revolution rests, as upon so many pillars. The first principle, the reformation of our form of government. Hitherto the country, in regard to its government, was under tutelage. It was necessary, then, to introduce the parliamentary form of government, that the people might govern themselves; that the nation might direct its own fate.

"The second principle, the security of individual rights. It was necessary to abolish distinctions, to proclaim an equality of rights and obligations, that, this principle being established, merit might be regarded, and not name and arms, that capacity might be rewarded, and not a long line of ancestry; that the prince, the count, the noble, might resign their dignities, and all who dwell in the country enjoy that equal dignity which is implied in the name *freeman, free citizen.*

"The third principle, the free development of nationalities. The free development of its nationality should be allowed to every race. Nationality is not an end, but an instrument for freedom, as freedom is not an end, but a means for the perfecting of the man and the citizen. This development of nationalities should be limited only by a regard to the unity of the state, and to a prompt and exact administration of the government." *

That the Hungarians, at least, believed themselves to be engaged in the cause of freedom, is admitted even by their opponents. The *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in May, 1849, when the Hungarians seemed about to triumph, counts among the chief elements of their strength the enthusiasm inspired by a sense of the justice and greatness of their cause. It speaks of them as "enthusiasts, exalted beyond all imagination by victory, *so much are they persuaded that they combat for the welfare of Europe*

* Szilágyi, *A' Magyar Forradalom Napjai* 1849. *Julius elsője után.* Pest, 1850.

and the liberty of the world." With this view of the objects for which the Hungarians supposed themselves to be contending, let the reader compare the following passage from the North American Review:—

> The Magyars, indeed, fought with great gallantry; it was hardly possible to avoid sympathizing with a people who struggled so bravely against immense odds. But *their cause was bad; they sought to defend their ancient feudal institutions, and their unjust and excessive privileges as an order and a race, against the incursion of the liberal ideas and the reformatory spirit of the nineteenth century.*" — p. 122.

We presume it must have been to this and similar passages in "The War of Races" that the author referred, when he informed the gentlemen who called on him with a request for a lyceum lecture, that this article contained much that was "new" even to himself.*

Our limits compel us to close. We have here considered the view taken by the North American Reviewer of the general character and objects of the war in Hungary. In a future article we shall examine the specific statements which he makes in regard to the war and the events which immediately preceded it, and shall point sout the extraordinary errors in regard to facts and date into which he has fallen. We shall also examine his statements in regard to the affairs of Transylvania and Croatia, and shall consider the confirmatory testimony adduced in his second article, entitled "The Politics of Europe."

M. L. P.

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* "I answered that I had nothing on hand which was fitted for such use, and had no leisure to prepare any thing; but that I had just finished a Review article, on which a good deal of labor and research had been expended, and, as it contained much that had appeared *new* and very interesting to me, perhaps a popular audience might not be unwilling to hear a portion of it read to them." — *Letter of the Editor of the North American Review.*

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Rights and the Duties of Masters. A Sermon preached at the Dedication of a Church erected in Charleston, S. C., for the Benefit and Instruction of the Colored Population. By Rev. J. H. Thornwell, D. D. Charleston: Walker & James. 1850. 8vo. pp. 52.

We have read this pamphlet with that interest which always attaches in our minds to every attempt of Christian ministers in the Slave States to connect the Gospel with chattel slavery. The introduction informs us that the sermon was preached on Sunday evening, May 26, 1850, before a large assembly of intelligent and respectable citizens. Whether any of the slaves were present at the services we are not informed, but the phraseology and tenor of the discourse, in which the word *slave* is freely used, would lead us to think they were not. The edifice, however, is intended for a mixed congregation. It is in the form of a capital T, the transepts, which are entered by separate doors, being appropriated to white persons. The congregation worshipping in it will be under the ecclesiastical supervision of the Session of the Second Presbyterian Church, of whose fold the communicants will be members, and by which the minister will be appointed, so that there will be no separate ecclesiastical organization. A Sunday school of about one hundred and eighty pupils is connected with the congregation.

The text of the sermon is Colossians iv. 1. The preacher begins by rejoicing in the completion of an undertaking which met at first with opposition, as it involved to some extent the separation of masters and servants in the offices of religion. As it was found that a large number of the colored population would be left without any religious instruction unless a separate provision was made for them, such separate provision has been ventured upon. The result, says the speaker, is to be regarded as a triumph of Christian benevolence, as it has been attained during a period of fierce excitement, and in a community which has been warned by experience to watch with jealousy all combinations of the blacks. The preacher does not at all disguise or smother over the indignant feeling which he knows has been aroused against slavery. He says plainly, "The Slaveholding States of this confederacy have been placed under the ban of the public opinion of the civilized world." And again, "God has not permitted such a remarkable phenomenon as the unanimity

of the civilized world, in its execration of slavery, to take place without design." We were sorry to find the preacher repeating the stale sarcasm that "the philanthropists of Europe and this country can find nothing worth weeping for but the sufferings and degradation of the Southern slave, and nothing worth reviling but the avarice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the Southern master, and nothing worth laboring to extirpate but the system which embodies these outrages," and that they "overlook the evils that press around their own doors." The falsehood of this statement exceeds its satire, for it so happens that, in the communities in which the antislavery spirit is most rife, all other charitable and reformatory efforts are most zealously sustained. If thousands have been given for the Abolition cause, hundreds of thousands have been spent for other merciful ends; and the North has furnished a score of temperance lecturers and charity agents for each single Abolitionist lecturer. After some general remarks upon the "vituperation and abuse" which have been heaped upon the slaveholders, — "the misrepresentations which ignorance, malice, and fanaticism are constantly and assiduously propagating," — "the insane fury of philanthropy," which has aimed at a distance to stir up insurrections at the South, and the machinations of *Northern man-stealers*, who pretend that conscience moves them "to violate the faith of treaties, the solemnity of contracts, and the awful sanctity of an oath," — after these remarks, and more in the same strain, the preacher acknowledges that the South has been unwisely, though naturally, moved, by the violence of resentment, to indulge in the language of defiance, and to yield to suggestions of policy which are not to be approved. In opposition to his own understanding of a scientific theory on the races of men, the preacher maintains that negroes are of the same blood with ourselves; in form and lineaments, in moral, religious, and intellectual nature, our brethren; and he takes credit to the slaveholders for their rejection of an *infidel theory* which might seek "the protection of our property in the debasement of our species." We will not, however, digress to discuss the question whether there is the lesser measure of faith and humanity in regarding the blacks as men and women, descended from a distinct human stock, or in maintaining their unity of descent with ourselves, while we treat them as beasts.

The preacher then identifies the Abolition spirit with the political and philosophical speculations which are agitating Europe, "the excesses of unchecked democracy," "the social anarchy of communism and the political anarchy of licentiousness," and he thinks that, if God will enable the slaveholders, as such, to discharge their duties with moderation and dignity, they will give efficient help towards settling for the world "the principles of

regulated liberty." He says that the Apostle, in the text, "sums up all that is incumbent, at the present crisis, upon the slaveholders of the South," and affirms that time would be wasted in proving that the servants addressed by the Apostle were slaves. He avails himself of the allowance made by many commentators, that while the spirit of the Scriptures is against slavery, the letter is distinctly and unambiguously in its favor. To those who make this allowance, he gently insinuates that it is for them, and not for him, to reconcile this imputation of a defective morality with the Protestant rule of the sufficiency of the Bible, and to explain why slaveholders, whom Paul received into Christian fellowship, should be repelled now. But the preacher thinks it worth his while to expose the confusion of ideas from which has arisen this distinction between the letter and the spirit of the Bible, and which "has been a source of serious perplexity both to the defenders and the enemies of slavery." He grants that if it can be shown "that slavery contravenes the spirit of the Gospel, — that as a social relation it is essentially unfavorable to the cultivation and growth of the graces of the spirit, — that it is unfriendly to the development of piety and to communion with God, — or that it retards the onward progress of man, — that it hinders the march of society to its destined goal, and contradicts that supremacy of justice which is the soul of the state and the life-blood of freedom,* — if these propositions can be satisfactorily sustained, then it is self-condemned," — religion, philanthropy, and patriotism require us to wipe out the foul blot.

We come now to the main argument of the discourse. Dr. Thornwell ascribes the confusion of ideas on this subject to a twofold misapprehension, — "one in relation to the nature of the slavery tolerated in the letter of the Scriptures, and the other in relation to the spirit of Christianity itself." He then controverts a common description of slavery as "the property of man in man, the destruction of all human and personal rights, the absorption of the humanity of one individual into the will and power of another," and quotes some sentences from Dr. Channing and Professor Whewell, who draw such a definition of slavery. The preacher allows that, if the description be just, the indignation of the world upon so monstrous an outrage cannot fall too soon. But he affirms its falsity, and says, that, whatever may be the technical language of the law in relation to certain aspects of slavery, "the ideas of personal rights and personal responsibility

* If we could for one moment suppose that the preacher was writing ironically, we should think that he had stated here an almost exhaustive, and certainly a most impressive, enumeration of the actual enormities and outrages involved in slavery, which, so far from needing "*to be shown*," do but too painfully and literally appear as self-evident.

pervade the whole system. It is a relation of man to man, — a form of civil society, of which persons are the only elements, — and not a relation of men to things." This is the Christian view of slavery, under which Christianity tolerates slavery, protects the rights and enforces the obligations mutually of slaves and masters. "Paul treats the services of slaves as *duties*, — not, like the toil of the ox or the ass, a labor extracted by the stringency of discipline, — but a moral debt, in the payment of which they were rendering a homage to God." Slaves, being thus addressed by motives, are treated as if possessed of conscience, reason, and will. The preacher affirms that it is "upon this absurdity, — that slavery divests its victims of humanity, that it degrades them from the rank of responsible and voluntary agents to the condition of tools or brutes, — that the whole philosophical argument against the morality of slavery, as an existing institution, is founded." Slavery, then, being vindicated from being inconsistent with personality of rights and obligations, its peculiarity is defined to be, "the obligation to labor for another, determined by the providence of God, independently of the provisions of a contract." The right of the master is not a right to the slave as a *man*, but to his *labor*. "The essential difference betwixt free and slave labor is, that one is rendered in consequence of a contract; the other is rendered in consequence of a command."

Perhaps we ought to say here, that we are not trifling with our readers, but are honestly quoting a printed pamphlet that actually lies before us. That Dr. Thornwell can state so concisely the *essential difference*, and yet does not discern that it involves the vital matter of personal rights for the slave, is the most marvellous specimen of judicial blindness that ever passed beneath our eyes. It will be observed that what little grain of plausibility there is in the basis of his plea is found in the rhetorical exaggeration sometimes used in saying that slaveholders deal in the bodies and *souls* of men. And yet is even this an exaggeration, in any intelligible definition of the word *soul*?

But to proceed. Dr. Thornwell next asserts, that "whatever control the master has over the person of the slave is subsidiary to this right to his labor; what he sells is not the man, but the property in his services." True, he chastises the *man*, but in this case "the punishments inflicted for disobedience are no more inconsistent with personal responsibilities than the punishments inflicted by the law for breaches of contract." As if to complete the astounding outrage upon common sense and humanity which his whole argument involves, the preacher adds that "this view of his subject exposes the confusion [!], which obtains in most popular treatises of morals, of slavery with

involuntary servitude. The service, in so far as it consists in the motions of the limbs or organs of the body, must be voluntary, or it could not exist at all." We should think, however, that whatever may be lacking towards the identity of slavery and involuntary servitude might be readily supplied by a few lashes of the whip, or a slight measure of starvation. The preacher would probably define the one as a state of *voluntary compulsion*, and the other as a state of *free necessity*.

After an eloquent digression upon moral bondage, as the most galling species of servitude, the preacher turns upon his own track, and asks if, after all, "the slave is not stripped of some of the rights which belong to him essentially as a man." In this question he thinks the whole moral difficulty of slavery lies, and that it is at this point that the friends and the enemies of the system are equally tempted to run into extravagance. Slavery is frankly acknowledged to be inconsistent with that perfection which Christianity designs for man and for society, *but that perfection is to be realized only in heaven.* "Slavery is a part of the curse which sin has introduced into the world." This Presbyterian divine very coolly lays the burden of chattel slavery upon Adam. We must be allowed to ask in passing, if modern research, which has done justice in vindicating Cromwell, and even Machiavelli, will not take in hand the reputation of Adam; for, bad as he may have been, he has certainly been the most abused of all persons that ever lived, and with, perhaps, the single exception of Diabolos, has had charged against him the greatest amount of mischief that he never did. So terrible is the penalty of having achieved a bad reputation. Slavery, says Dr. Thornwell, is to be looked upon as one of the "badges of a fallen world," like lameness, and blindness, and hospitals, and beggars.

Passing to his second point, the preacher maintains that slavery is not incompatible with the spirit and temper of the Gospel, that is, with the precepts of universal justice and benevolence. His argument here is very hurried and imperfect, consisting of a quibble upon the Golden Rule. This he interprets as requiring that we should "do unto others what, in their situations, it would be right and reasonable in us to expect from them." Whether our reducing human beings to a situation in which we cannot do for them what is right and reasonable, and confining them to it, and making ourselves the judges of what is right and reasonable for them, while we know that we would not for one moment allow them to put us in the situation in which we put them, — whether all this is consistent with the *Golden Rule*, the spirit of Christianity, Dr. Thornwell does not seem to think worthy of a plea.

Before closing, with a few paragraphs on the duties of masters,

the preacher notices "the popular argument against slavery, drawn from the fact, that, as it must have begun in the perpetration of grievous wrong, no lapse of time can make it subsequently right." He meets this difficulty by distinguishing "between the wrong itself and the effects of the wrong." The act which first made a man a slave, he says, can never cease to be criminal, but the relations to which that act gave rise may themselves be consistent with the will of God. We wonder that the preacher does not avail himself of this distinction in the matter of Adam's sin and its consequences. Certainly we should think that a divine who could disconnect the guilt of *slave-holding* from the guilt of *slave-making*, would not be under the painful necessity of ascribing the guilt of the present generation to the guilt of Adam. We wait for another discourse which shall attempt to reconcile the Gospel with the very chiefest of those sins against which both its letter and its spirit are directed,— the sin of enslaving our own race.

Specimens of Newspaper Literature: with Personal Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Reminiscences. By JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM. Boston: Little & Brown. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 348 and 356.

MR. BUCKINGHAM has eminent qualifications for the work which he has here performed so well. His own almost life-long connection with the press, his great professional skill and knowledge, his traits of personal character, his interest in the antiquarian researches connected with public men of the country in times past, and his own rich experience and crowded memory, are precisely what the judicious treatment of his subject required. He has avoided prosiness, and all inappropriate digressions. Not a trace of an unkind or severe judgment appears in his volumes. More wearisome labor was involved in them than most readers will suppose, and the amount of condensed information, of incidental history and personal anecdote, which they contain, will give them a place henceforward among the materials for more ambitious writings.

A recent historian of the Newspaper Literature of Great Britain has given what his reviewers have thought the happy title of "The Fourth Estate" to his subject-matter, — the Queen, the Lords, and the Commons having long established themselves as the three estates of the realm. It would be difficult to say which estate the newspaper press represents among us. Yet it would be hardly possible to overstate the amount of influence which is exerted here, among all classes of society, by our numerous and most discordant newspapers.

We have perused with a lively interest the very careful survey

which Mr. Buckingham has furnished. Some few of the names of printers, publishers, and editors, whose labors figure honorably in his pages, are very familiar to us, from their connection with other departments of social and civil life in New England. Many of the names are strange, and even after the faithful chronicler has done his best for them, their hold on an earthly immortality will be but slight. Mr. Buckingham's own estimate of the weight and dignity of his profession is high, but not one whit beyond the truth. Indeed, we think his modesty has restrained the expression of the full claims which editors have upon public regard and sympathy. The series of rich and instructive papers which he has communicated, under the title of "The Croaker," to the columns of the "Boston Courier," — the monument of his own faithful editorial labors for so many years, — contains many interesting professional reminiscences, which we hope yet to see extended and published in a volume. Between histories of the past, and descriptions of present times and events, there is a department of writing, which, when skilfully dealt with, may be made to furnish most engaging and valuable materials, in sketches of characters who have just left the stage, and of incidents that have not passed out of the memory of the elders among the living, but which have the interest of both historical and contemporaneous events for those in middle life. Mr. Buckingham works out these sketches with admirable skill, and with a most genial spirit.

Isaiah Thomas and Benjamin Russell, finely engraved and very faithful portraits of whom are given in the two volumes before us, with the ever-honored name of Franklin, represent the most distinguished of those whose labors Mr. Buckingham has surveyed. The pleasant remembrances of friendship impart heartiness and kind appreciation to many of the sketches which come nearest to our own times. The author has culled from the whole field which he has surveyed such specimens as will fairly present the measure of talent and enterprise from time to time engaged in newspaper literature in New England. The beginnings of the art and mystery seem in the retrospect to have been feeble enough, almost ludicrously so, and we cannot but commend the industry which has so thoroughly reviewed the days of very small things. The little, old, dingy half-sheets which have survived to our time, as sallow as last autumn's leaves, and most ambitiously rehearsing some European news five or six months after its date, tell many tales of the difference between times past and our own times. Yet there is but very little space of years between the origin of newspaper literature in London and in Boston, and the first fruits of the enterprise were quite as meagre there as here. There are some really sensible and spirited essays,

and some lively and truly poetical verses, in Mr. Buckingham's volumes. We hope that his labors will be appreciated in this community by a large and ready circulation of this work. We assure our readers that they are exceedingly interesting and valuable. Let the author be encouraged to complete his own intended task.

Archæologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Volume III., Part I., *containing Records of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, from* 1628 *to* 1641, *as contained in the First Volume of the Archives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.* Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1850. 8vo. pp. cxxxviii. and 107.

Massachusetts, from its very earliest settlement, has aimed to provide records for posterity, and, for a long period of years, those who have honored the names and ways of the fathers have loved to retrace the inscriptions and revive the freshness of their narratives. Dr. Young's two volumes, which have gathered together all the authentic records of contemporary origin in the Colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth, are incomparably the most valuable works of the kind in our libraries. They can never be superseded. Their plan was most judicious, and the execution of it, with the help of such admirable notes, in themselves a monument of diligence and accuracy and scholarship, leaves nothing to be desired. We have often thought that our Legislature could not do a better service to our schools, than to bestow upon each of them a copy of these two volumes.

The half volume, whose title we have given above, contains a portion of the contents of Dr. Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, differing, however, in these particulars, that different notes are subjoined, and the ancient spelling, misspelling, and abbreviations are copied exactly from the original records in the State-House. We know that the question as to retaining or revising the old spelling in a transcript divides men of equal judgment and taste into two parties, but we cannot but think that the circulation and the popular value of the book before us will be diminished by the uncouth matter on half of its pages. Besides the reprint of that portion of the Massachusetts Company's records, and of those official papers which Dr. Young had already given to the public in so complete and valuable a form, the Antiquarian Society presents us with a voluminous prefatory chapter on the "Origin of the Company in England," in which are brief memorial sketches of all of its members, concerning

whom the most patient search could discover any sure information. This chapter bears evidence of a vast amount of diligent inquiry, and forms a most valuable addition to our historic lore. We commend the Committee of Publication, and especially Mr. Samuel F. Haven, the Librarian, and Mr. David Pulsifer, the transcriber, for their labor of love. Whole hours and days of tedious investigations here show themselves in some little fact, which only the antiquarian knows how to value. Such labors are never estimated at their full value, and seeing that the State would not engage in an undertaking which gratitude required of her, we rejoice that the Antiquarian Society has assumed the honorable task.

We hope that some remarks which we feel compelled to add will be taken in good part, as suggested by our interest in the work, and not by a spirit of fault-finding. For we must confess that our expectations from this undertaking are not all realized. The well-known confusion and collision between the original patents is strongly stated, and the hope is expressed that some able pen will be devoted to an attempt to clear up the matter. Is not that the very work for which we should look to the Antiquarian Society, as an introduction to the Company's records? Again, there has gathered of late much controversy around the question as to the main design of the early adventurers and the subsequent colonists; — whether it were trade, or political liberty, or a fancy commonwealth, or an Episcopal missionary enterprise, or a Puritanical design. Might not this same introduction have furnished us with a complete argument on this question? We must refer again to the barbarous and uninviting spelling and abbreviations, in which there certainly is no virtue, and which will repel all but the fondest antiquarians, while, numerous as the notes are, they do not furnish all that is necessary to illustrate the text. There are some errors of the press, and references to historical works, like Winthrop's Journal, and the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, are not made with uniformity. The editor in several places differs from Dr. Young in regard to facts and readings, and yet, if we are compelled to choose, we must confess that we should feel more safe in following the latter, because of the unwearied pains and keen penetration and sound judgment which are so remarkably evident in his volumes. For an instance which may warrant our preference, we would respectfully adduce the following. The editor, on page 1, disputes Dr. Young's supposition that the memoranda of articles at the beginning of the Company's records refer to Higginson's expedition, and connects them with Endicott's previous expedition. The issue, however, seems to be settled in Dr. Young's favor by

the superscribed sentence, "Cast in the ballast of the *ships*." Endicott we know had but *one ship*, the Abigail.

In his sketches of the members of the Massachusetts Company the editor has the following:—

"——— *Backouse.*

"There are many cases where only the surname of a member is given in the records, and it is not always that other sources of information supply the deficiency. In the present instance, no reference to the surname even is found elsewhere."

If the editor will search through his Hutchinson, his eye will be rejoiced with this sentence:—"I find a Common Prayer Book among the list of books presented by *William* Backhouse for the use of the ministers."

Researches respecting Americus Vespucius and his Voyages. By the Viscount Santarem, Ex Prime Minister of Portugal, Member of the Institute of France, &c., &c. Translated by E. V. Childe. Boston: Little & Brown. 1850. 16mo. pp. 222.

The histories of science, art, discovery, philosophy, and literature are filled with cases of most marked injustice to men whom the world should honor and commemorate. The most frequent mode in which this injustice exhibits itself is in the usurpation by impostors or rivals of the renown which belongs to the neglected and the injured. The most marked and signal instance of this grievous wrong, inasmuch as the name of more than a quarter of the land on the whole earth bears witness to it, is, that the Florentine Americus Vespucius, rather than the Genoese Christopher Columbus, should have given the title to this continent. The truth on this point is of no new or recent revelation. The Viscount Santarem has most admirably and effectively presented in this neat volume the evidence which bears upon it. A part of its contents had already appeared in the Bulletin of the Geographical Society, and the author promises another and more complete work. With the most patient fidelity, and after the examination of thousands and thousands of ancient manuscript documents, besides all the printed authorities, he has gone to the bottom of his subject, and in a very succinct and unambitious review of the testimony, he puts before his readers all the materials for judgment, and abundant proof to convict Vespucius, not only of imposture, but of the most calculating art to disguise it.

We are left to marvel, not only at the hugeness and completeness of the wrong, but at every deluding incident that contributed

to establish it. The claims of Vespucius were doubted and derided contemporaneously with their first announcement. He pretended to have received his commission or patent from Emanuel of Portugal, but no trace of it could ever be found among the royal patents, which are registered with scrupulous exactness. He himself falsified his own pretension of patronage from Portugal, by alleging that he took possession of the new-found territory in the name of the king of Spain. Forged title-pages to books, anachronisms, and other apparent deceits, helped out the wrong by which his name became attached to a continent during a period when but little interest invested the matter, and ages have confirmed what they can scarce rectify. Not a mountain, field, river, bay, or headland, not a square foot of land or soundings on the whole Atlantic coast of America, saving only the District of Columbia, bears the name of its much injured discoverer. The fact may serve to point a moral against many similar wrongs of lesser magnitude.

Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa, with Notices of the Native Tribes and Anecdotes of the Chase of the Lion, Elephant, Hippopotamus, Giraffe, Rhinoceros, &c. By ROUALEYN GORDON CUMMING, Esq. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 326 and 304.

THIS title gives a fair sketch of the contents of a book which has about it a singularly wild charm, and an almost harrowing intenseness of interest. The author, in whose truthfulness we feel entire confidence, without exhibiting recklessness, is certainly a most daring and hardy person. His endurance of privation, his strength of nerve and muscle, his knowledge of expedients and woodcraft, and his absorbing love of adventure, admirably fit him for the courageous enterprises which such curious intimacies with savage beasts require. The incidental descriptions of the habits of these animals constitute a valuable addition to our stores of natural history. The volumes will be eminently serviceable for attaching boys who have considerable electricity in their composition to the evening reading-table through the coming winter.

The Recent Progress of Astronomy, especially in the United States. By ELIAS LOOMIS, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of the City of New York, and Author of a Course of Mathematics. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850. 12mo. pp. 258.

This volume aims to present, in language not too technical to be unintelligible to general readers, the more interesting steps of progress in astronomical science for the last ten years. The discovery of the Planet Neptune, of several new Asteroids, and of an Eighth Satellite of Saturn, new observations on the Satellites of Uranus, new facts concerning Comets, Fixed Stars, and Nebulæ, a history of American Observatories, the Astronomical Expedition to Chili, the Astronomical Results of Public Surveys, the Determination of Longitude by the Electric Telegraph, and the Electro-Magnetic Clock, and accounts of Astronomical Publications, and of the Manufacture of Telescopes in the United States, — all these great subjects are concisely treated, and with sufficient distinctness, within the limits of this small volume.

The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations. By his Grandson, Charles Francis Adams. Vol. II. Boston: Little & Brown. 1850. 8vo. pp. 542.

Perhaps we should apologize for making any mention of the exceedingly important and valuable work of which this is an odd volume, without an attempt, at least, to set forth its full merits and interest. We hope in good time, and that will be when more volumes of it are in our hands, to give it that attention which it deserves. In the mean while we will state, for the information of those of our readers who may need them, a few more particulars than the papers have given, in announcing the simple fact that Congress has just made an appropriation for the purchase of a thousand copies. The volume, in its mechanical materials and execution, is the most creditable specimen of art which our country has yet produced, and will add to the reputation of its generous publishers, who already hold the first place on this continent.

This volume contains the Diary of President John Adams from the first record in his earliest years of manly intelligence, in 1755, to the time of his first departure for Europe, in 1778, and that portion of his Autobiography which brings him a little way into his Congressional life; besides Notes of Debates in the Continental Congress taken by him, and which, though fragmentary, supply gaps in our information. The first volume will contain his Biography complete, and subsequent volumes, his Works.

In this volume a rich treat is offered to a large variety of readers. The revelations of heart and mind here made; the personal incidents and reflections; the pictures and sketches of past scenes; the incidental anecdotes of men and women; the refer-

ences to interesting localities which have been changed in aspect; the frequent recognition of religion; the fresh records of stirring times and circumstances; the disclosure of secrets; the historical materials of the highest value, — all these, and other classifications which might be made of the contents of this volume, will attract to it persons of very different tastes in the choice of books. The editor assures us that he has dealt fairly by his readers; that he has suppressed nothing, merely for fear or favor, though he has exercised discretion and prudence in some omissions. His own notes are an essential help to the full enjoyment of the volume. All who fail to indulge themselves with its perusal will deprive themselves of an instructive and pleasant occupation, such as our presses, active as they are, do not often furnish.

English Grammar. The English Language in its Elements and Forms. With a History of its Origin and Development. Designed for Use in Colleges and Schools. By WILLIAM C. FOWLER, late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850. 8vo. pp. 676.

THAT any extensive use will be made of this large volume in *schools*, we should think very doubtful, though we are sure that many of the attractive pages which it contains, and its curious information, would do much towards divesting *grammar* of its repulsive associations for many pupils. We have actually found ourselves engaged, and even amused, by some of the chapters of this volume, and we have derived from it much new knowledge of the history and structure of our mother tongue. The chief basis of the work is the recent publication by Dr. Latham, late Professor of the English Language and Literature in the London University, to whom Mr. Fowler makes a general acknowledgment in his Preface.

Health, Disease, and Remedy, familiarly and practically considered, in a few of their Relations to the Blood. By GEORGE MOORE, M. D., Member of the Royal College of Physicians, &c., &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850. 16mo. pp. 320.

No novel theory is broached in this volume. With all its other reasonable and useful communications, it contains a wholesome and good-tempered warning against quackery. As to the general value of so many popular medical publications as are now issued, there may be much difference of opinion. Probably a

wise course is, to read some such judicious work as this to guard one's self against all avoidable diseases, but to call in thoroughly educated physicians when actually overtaken by disease.

The Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. New York: C. S. Francis. Boston: J. H. Francis. 1850. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 312 and 300.

Though a very unequal merit attaches to the pieces by this authoress which have been separately circulated during the last few years, she has been universally allowed to have proved in some of them her possession of the richest poetical gifts. It would be a curious process of criticism to attempt to account for such occasional failures, of such a sort, too, side by side with such rare success. Supposing that our readers have been familiar with those of her poetical works which have been published before, we would commend to them this beautiful and complete edition of her works, on which the publishers have bestowed great pains. Mr. H. T. Tuckerman's brief Essay on the Poems of Mrs. Browning, taken from his "Thoughts on the Poets," furnishes an appropriate Introduction.

The Poetry of Science, or Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Robert Hunt, Author of "Panthea," "Researches on Light," &c. First American, from the Second London Edition. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1850. 12mo. pp. 388.

We have already spoken in very favorable terms of this remarkable work, after having perused it in the first London edition. The second, of which we have here a fair American reprint, contains some important additions and corrections, and is one of the choicest volumes that are filled with the wonders of nature, and the wonders of man's intelligence.

The Pre-Adamite Earth. Contributions to Theological Science. By John Harris, D. D., Author of "The Great Teacher," &c. 3d Thousand. Revised and enlarged. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1850. 12mo. pp. 300.

This is one of the abounding publications of the present time, which take a mid-way place between strictly logical deductions from scientific principles, and the random guesses of a half cred-

ulous, half inquisitive faith. We have already, on a previous occasion, noticed this work. A great interest has been excited towards the author on this side of the Atlantic, and we hope that he may receive from his devoted labors much comfort for his age.

Stories about Birds, with Pictures to match. By Francis C. Woodworth. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 336.

We much prefer, for the instruction of children, true stories about the earth, its living creatures, its birds, its animals and insects, to false stories about human beings. This pretty volume will be welcome and highly improving to the young in whom a taste for the observation of nature has been cultivated. Such books should be great helps to parents and teachers. Religion and humanity are largely concerned in their contents, and a love of natural science acquired in youth is one of the best resources and solaces of later years.

Biographical Essays. By Thomas de Quincey, Author of "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater," &c., &c. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1850. 12mo. pp. 284.

Shakspeare, Pope, Lamb, Goethe, and Schiller, though they have engaged the pens of innumerable critics and admirers, have seldom found a more hearty or discerning treatment than De Quincey gives them in these rich pages. We might easily be led into what some of our readers would call extravagance, if we attempted to say all that we could easily say about this volume. The ordinary commonplace of essays finds no admission in it. It contains thought, acute, penetrating thought, the workings of intellectual power, and the careful analysis of the methods of genius. We are far from representing the judgment of De Quincey as one from which there is no appeal, but we love to read his pages, we approve most of their contents, and we marvel at his great gifts. The volume now before us, with that which we recently noticed, containing "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater and Suspiria de Profundis," constitutes thus far the first collected edition of the author's writings. A third volume is to follow, which will contain some of his contributions to the English magazines.

A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. By Edward Robinson, D. D., LL. D. A New Edition, revised and in great part rewritten. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850. 8vo. pp. 804.

We are pleased to see that Dr. Robinson has published a new edition of his New Testament Lexicon. In many respects it is an improvement upon the old edition. It will no doubt be used more than any other lexicon in this country for many years. We regret on this account that Dr. Robinson has to so great an extent assumed the province of an *interpreter* of the New Testament. On several articles which we have examined, for instance, πνεῦμα, θεός, λόγος, ἁρπαγμός (we might mention others), we see the influence of the doctrinal views of the author. Perhaps some expression of the theological views of the author was not wholly to be avoided. But at any rate the impartial student should keep the circumstance in mind, and have recourse to other lexicons, in relation to words having a bearing on Christian doctrines. Dr. Robinson in his preface has counselled the student "to study the New Testament for himself, with only the help of his Grammar and Lexicon, giving close attention to the context and the logical connection. In this way, whatever he acquires will be his own, and will remain with him." This advice would come with better grace from one who had confined himself more strictly to the business of a lexicographer than Dr. Robinson has done. The student who relies on all parts of Dr. Robinson's Lexicon will rely on a commentary, as really as if he resorted to commentaries under that name. With this qualification, we are free to express the opinion that the student of the New Testament cannot procure a better lexicon. Those who wish for one more free from dogmatical influence can consult that of Wahl.

Our Saviour with Prophets and Apostles. A Series of Eighteen highly-finished Steel Engravings, designed expressly for this Work, with Descriptions by several American Divines. Edited by the Rev. J. M. Wainwright, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 4to. pp. 236.

The pens of some of the most scholarly and admired divines in the various communions of the American Church have been engaged in the preparation of a text which may properly accompany the engraved portraits of some of the elect of God. The very afflatus of devotion and holy sensibility is felt within the heart as we turn over these splendid pages, and trace the lineaments of inspired and sainted men, — of "prophets and apostles" on whom the Christian Church is "built," — and gaze with rev-

erence upon the Divine brows of the Saviour, "the chief corner-stone." This will be a precious gift for the pastor, the Sunday-school teacher, the bride, the brother, the sister, the parent, the friend. Let the praiseworthy efforts of our best publishers to provide gift-books superior to the gilded trash which has heretofore disgraced the season of Christmas and the New Year find a due appreciation from the Christian public.

Tabulæ Atomicæ. The Chemical Tables for the Calculation of Quantitative Analyses of H. Rose. Recalculated for the more recent Determinations of Atomic Weights, and with other Alterations and Additions. By WILLIAM P. DEXTER. Boston: Little & Brown. 1850. 8vo. pp. 68.

DR. DEXTER says that he has most carefully and rigidly verified every calculation and determination in the Tables appended to the Manual of Analytical Chemistry of Rose of Berlin, has recalculated the atomic weights of elements which have been recently determined more precisely, and has made such additions as have been required by the progress of the science. Every calculation has been made by himself, both by direct division and by the use of logarithms.

The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, with Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 299 and 332.

THIS is certainly the most lively and entertaining of the many recent biographies of our writers of essays and miscellanies. Much of it is the purest gossip of an innocent character, and not without a positive, didactic moral value. We had borrowed a copy of the costly London edition of the work, and were receiving rich enjoyment for a summer's day from its pages, when the cheaper pages of the Messrs. Harper came within our reach and possession. The work has the raciness, the quiet simplicity, and often the delightful humor, which we find in perfection in Charles Lamb. Vivid pictures of childhood are painted with the fair tints of sincerity. A maturer life, which has been led through some jealousies, rivalries, and embittered ways, is reviewed with a chastened temper and a kindly spirit. The portraits of private persons, the friends and relatives of the author, though wholly unknown to fame, are drawn with an affection which makes them objects of much the same interest to the reader as belongs to the many names of the writer's contemporaries, — names political and religious, — whose memoirs have been written during the last seventy years.

*** An elegant pamphlet, from the accurate press of Mr. John Wilson, bears the following title: — "Address before the American Medical Association, at the Anniversary Meeting in Cincinnati, May 8th, 1850. By John C. Warren, M. D., President of the Association." (8vo, pp. 66.) We have heard from several members of the medical profession, that they had a glorious time at their spring gathering in the Queen City of the West, and we should think that this Address, which was delivered *memoriter*, must have signalized the occasion. Its two general aims are, to offer an expression of opinion on some subjects lately discussed in the profession, and to present grateful notices of some of the most distinguished contributors to surgical science during the last fifty years. The following subjects are remarked upon: — Measures for obtaining statistical information for the preservation of health and the removal of disease; the qualifications of permanent members of the Association; securities against the adulteration of drugs and medicines; the terms and requirements of a medical education; the charge of infidelity made against physicians; the connection of the study of natural science with medicine. Then follows a review of the professional life of the speaker, with a most graceful and lively, not to say humorous, sketch of the successive eminent physicians and surgeons of the period. In conclusion, we have most interesting remarks upon the microscope, lithotrity, tenotomy, cold-water practice, and ether. Certainly a large dose, but we assure our readers a very pleasant one.

Of quite other materials, and in a different strain, is another choice publication, and by another doctor, — "Astræa: The Balance of Illusions. A Poem delivered before the Φ. B. K. Society of Yale College, August 14th, 1850. By Oliver Wendell Holmes." (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 12mo. pp. 39.) Music and poetry together. Exquisite gems of thought glitter in sparkling beauties of language and imagery. The reference to the poet's father, — the late venerable Dr. Holmes of Cambridge, — who was a graduate of Yale College, which opens the poem, is of the most tender and chaste beauty, and withal dignified and elevated. The imagery in which the changing seasons are portrayed is no hasty effusion of a mind set to an appointed task, but it is the rich fruit of a life-long love and study of nature. The description of an old library is grave and jocose, as the material, and its oft neglected wisdom and dulness, require that the description of it should be. The satire upon ultraisms is sharp, but not bitter. The whole poem is a production which will sustain the already enviable and unquestioned fame of the author.

"An Address delivered at the Consecration of Evergreen Cemetery, Brighton, August 7th, 1850. By Frederick A. Whit-

ney, Minister of the First Church. With an Appendix." (Boston: John Wilson. 8vo. pp. 24.) Christian reflections on death, the use of appropriate and beautiful burial-places in softening its forbidding features and suggesting holy and touching lessons for the spirit, with a reference to the hideous features of our old grave-yards, and a solemn consecration of the new garden of graves, make up the contents of this pamphlet. It has a fine tone and a sweet spirit.

"A Discourse delivered in the Ancient Meeting-house of the First Congregational Society in Hingham, September 8th, 1850. By Alonzo Hill, Minister of the Second Congregational Society in Worcester." (Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 8vo. pp. 24.) It is enough to inspire any preacher of the Gospel, to be told that he is preaching in the oldest *meeting-house* in the United States. Mr. Hill, knowing that he was to officiate as an occasional occupant for one Sabbath of the pulpit in an edifice bearing that distinction, prepared a discourse which was regarded as so appropriate that a copy was requested for the press. The meeting-house is nearly one hundred and eighty years old, and has in it some of the materials which were used in the former wilderness temple. As Mr. Hill remarks, it is altogether probable that some of every generation of the Pilgrim stock have worshipped within the present edifice. It is of very remarkable construction, square in form, its roof rising to a sharp pyramid, which is truncated by a belfry and spire. Eight massive, oaken beams, with a natural curvature of at least four feet, are the main supporters of the roof, and give to it within something of the appearance of the ribs of a ship inverted. King-posts piercing the ceiling, square pews with turned ornaments, a sounding-board, a wooden latch on the gallery door, and the marks of the broad-axe on the solid work, are the signs of a veritable antiquity. The bell-rope falls down into the centre of the middle aisle. Mr. Hill gathers around the edifice a train of most felicitous and impressive associations; discoursing on Christian worship and on the changes wrought by time, on true Christian progress, and on the value and power of a reasonable religion.

"A Sermon preached after the Death of Mrs. Eliza Frothingham, and Mrs. Cornelia F. Wolcott, Mother and Daughter, the latter of whom died June 1st, and the former, June 5th, 1850. By Chandler Robbins." (Boston: John Wilson. 8vo. pp. 32.) We should trespass beyond our proper range, if we said more of this tender tribute to maternal and sisterly virtues, than that it adds a new consecration to all the ties of Christian affection, and offers such calm and chastened views of death, of mortal sorrow and bereavement, as aid largely to reconcile a trusting heart to the whole will of God.

"An Address delivered at the Dedication of the New Building of the Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary, July 3, 1850. By Edward Reynolds, M. D." (Boston: C. P. C. Moody. 8vo. pp. 40.) This pamphlet, which is adorned with a wood-cut of the handsome edifice just erected as the new home of the partakers of this charity, contains a sketch of the progress made in the art of treating diseases of the eye and ear, and of the rise of this excellent institution, which has benefited hundreds of patients. Like many other similar pamphlets, it is a record of the charities of the merchants of Boston.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Gray's Poetical Works. — Mr. Henry C. Baird, of Philadelphia, has just issued, in very handsome style, with fine illustrations, the Poetical Works of Gray. They are edited by Professor Henry Reed, of the University of Pennsylvania, who has prefixed an eloquently written Memoir to the volume. This is no doubt the most complete collection of Gray's Poems which has yet appeared, and the arrangement of the pieces seems to have been made with accurate taste and from good authorities. Few works have ever been issued from the American press that compare with this volume in point of excellence in type, paper, illustration, and binding.

Phillips, Sampson, & Co. have published a new edition of "A Peep at the Pilgrims in 1636," by Mrs. Cheny, a novel that was in high repute twenty years ago. They have in press, "Richard Edmy, a Domestic Tale of Morals and Life," by Rev. S. Judd, of Augusta, Me.; "A Discourse of Christianity," by Rev. Theodore Parker; a new and revised edition of the second series of Emerson's Essays; "The Diosma," a new volume of original and selected poems, by Miss H. F. Gould; and an abridgment of Murray's History of the United States.

Ticknor, Reed, & Fields announce as in preparation, — A new Romance, by Nathaniel Hawthorne. The story is said to be of modern times, and one of stirring interest. The title is not yet announced. — Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, in two volumes, from Carlyle's translation; a new and revised edition. Also, Goethe's Faust, translated by Hayward; a new and more complete copy. — A new and revised edition of Mr. Edwin P. Whipple's Essays and Reviews, in two volumes, the large New York issue having been out of print some months. — A new and revised edition of Mr. Giles's Lectures and Essays, in two volumes. — Memory and Hope, a volume of selected poems referring

to the period of childhood, loss of children, &c., &c. — Lyrics of Spain and Erin, by Edward Maturin, author of "Montezuma," &c. The writer is a son of the author of "Bertram" and of other dramas possessing great beauty, and once enjoying distinguished popularity.

Among the books just ready by the same publishing house are Grace Greenwood's Poems, and a beautiful little juvenile from the same pen, which is sure of success. Also, Mr. Charles Sumner's Orations, in two volumes; a new edition of Hawthorne's Twice-told Tales; a new volume of Poems, by Mr. Lowell; Horace and James Smith's "Rejected Addresses," with illustrations; Hawthorne's "True Tales from History and Biography"; and a superb edition of Mr. Longfellow's Evangeline, illustrated by English artists of celebrity.

Professor De Vericour and the Queen's College at Cork. — We have more than once made mention of the establishment by the British government of unsectarian Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, Ireland. The aim of government in those institutions was to provide means for the highest forms of academical instruction, for all who would avail themselves of them. That all sectarian prejudices might be both allowed for and repelled, every precaution was used to secure the exclusion of the spirit of proselytism, by forbidding religious instruction within the walls, while the students were commended to their respective spiritual teachers outside. That extreme delicacy and the most prudent caution could alone make this plan successful amid the intense strifes of controversy and discord in Ireland, will be obvious to every mind. The professors to whom was intrusted the practical working out of so generous yet difficult an enterprise, needed to be continually on their guard against the slightest infringement of the rigid conditions of their office, while they should as anxiously avoid giving the least occasion for any popular outcry, especially during the feeble infancy of the Colleges. Though the plan met with much and virulent opposition alike from Roman Catholics and from Protestants of the Church of England, and was not favored, to say the least, by the present Pontiff, "the Vicar of Christ," enough persons were found to embrace the offered privileges, and the three Colleges have been for a year in successful operation, and are now consolidated into an Irish University.

We are sorry to find that the harmony and the good promise which had thus far attended the labors of the professors at Cork, as in the other two Colleges, have been disturbed, not by any intentional breach of order or courtesy, but by what appears to have been an oversight, or at farthest a careless imprudence, on the part of one professor. M. de Vericour is Professor of French and Modern Languages at Cork, and his duties are restricted to those materials of instruction. There has recently appeared a work, now before us, bearing the following title: — "Historical Analysis of Christian Civilization. By Professor De Vericour, Queen's College, Cork. London: John Chapman. 1850." (12mo, pp. 480.) The Preface to the book is thus dated: — "Queen's College, Cork, May 1, 1850." Of the book itself, a cursory examination has led us to form a very favorable opinion. Its plan is judicious, its spirit is generous, and its judgments are discreet, comprehensive, and charitable. It contains a very condensed sketch of the history of Christian civilization in Europe, with careful dates, arrangements, historical parallels and tables, and proper subdivisions. Four great phases of Christian civili-

zation are recognized in the past, while a fifth is supposed to have been entered upon with the French Revolution. The first is the period of Roman history from the death of Christ to the fall of the Western Empire; the second closes with the check upon the Mahometan invasion by Charlemagne, embracing the rise and fall of the Empire of the East; the third period covers the Middle Ages, with their feudalism, crusades, and chivalry; the fourth period, beginning with the sixteenth century, is the time of the revival, — the *renaissance*, — when marvellous changes and revolutionary elements began to work. Of course, the burdened pages of such annals as are crowded in all these historic ages present many scenes, events, and huge controversies and strifes, to which so condensed a sketch can do but feeble justice. Still, the work is well done, with a religious tone, and in the spirit of a true Christian believer. There are sentences, however, scattered through it, which would be equally unacceptable to a Roman Catholic, and to a so-called *Evangelical* Protestant.

Indignant feeling has been aroused, and formal proceedings have been instituted against the author of this volume. So far as we can judge, we should say that the author was blameworthy, not because of any thing which his book contains, but because he has apparently identified a book on religion with the College at Cork, with himself as a professor there, and with his range of duties. His title-page, and the date of his Preface, and a hint dropped in that Preface about the adoption of the work "as a text-book in any educational institution," furnish but too ready an occasion to rouse a wakeful anxiety, while even the name of the publisher, who has issued many works of a most liberal and startling character, is a mark for alarmists. If the author had omitted the designation of Queen's College from his title and Preface, or had added to his own professional distinction the words "of French and Modern Languages," and had guarded his labors as a literary man from being confounded with his academic office, he would have escaped all just censure. During the temporary absence of the Professor on the Continent, the Council of the College took up the matter, and without waiting for any explanation from him, suspended him from his office, and called on the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to confirm their proceedings, solely on the ground of his publication. On hearing of these proceedings, the author addressed a letter from Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, to the *Cork Reporter*, in which he regrets the cause of the difficulty, and explains it consistently with fair intentions, by referring to a hasty and imperfect arrangement with his publisher about the title, the proof sheet of which he did not see, and to a habit of dating his notes and letters from the College. At a subsequent meeting of the Council, a letter from the Professor was read, in which he proposed to purge his title-page and preface, and to resign his office as Dean of the Faculty for the ensuing year. The Council accepted these terms, and revoked its call for the confirmation of his suspension. The Professor was then reprimanded by the President for having involved the College with a work of a polemical tendency, and warned that any further offence would lead to the final steps directed by the statute. At the same time, the President explained that the Council had not the slightest intention of interfering with or limiting the independence of a professor to act or write in his private capacity.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ullmann and the Rhenish Bavarian Church. — "An Opinion of the Theological Faculty at Heidelberg upon a proposed Church Constitution for the Rhenish Palatinate." It is, perhaps, of little consequence to us what form of church government prevails in a country removed from us by distance, language, and manners; a country, too, only a few hundred square miles in extent, and which has nothing left to boast of but its imperishable beauty and its bloody history. But the name of Ullmann lends interest to every thing connected with it, and this constitution has arrested our attention less through its own importance than through the fact that it plainly indicates an important change going on in the bosom of the Lutheran Church.

There probably is not another church in the world whose external and internal character exhibits such discrepancies as that which bears the name of Luther. The Augsburg Confession, both the original and the modified one, is plain and orthodox in its statements of doctrine, but modern times have found it broad enough to cover all phases of doctrine, from those of Hengstenberg and Tholuck to those of Ammon, Paulus, and Strauss. We doubt whether a dozen preachers could be found in Saxony who believe in that confession of faith; — yet there is not one who has not signed his name to it, and made at least a profession of belief. The great majority of the professors of the University at Leipsic are what would be called here good Unitarians, — all the established preachers at the University church are so. This kind of quiet heresy which spreads more or less over all Germany, which spoke out at Magdeburg three or four years ago and disturbed the official dignity of Tholuck so much, seems to have been quite prevalent in the church of the Bavarian Palatinate. We have no space to go back to the origin of difficulties, which began as early as 1818. The result is a phenomenon which we believe has never before been witnessed in Germany, — a large part of the established church proposing to drop her distinguishing dogmas, her connection of church and state, yet standing solely upon *negative* grounds, refraining to assert any new and odious heresies, that they may still wear the name of a faith so dear and so rich in glorious memories.

This result was not attained without a violent controversy with a small but determined minority, a controversy which spread among all classes and "was transferred from the closets of the clergy and the halls of councils to the forum of the people." The small minority made up their minds to check the progress of heresy by a more rigid creed. The majority demurred. A council was called at time-honored Spire in the earlier half of October, 1848. A new church constitution, drawn up by two clergymen, a lawyer, and a notary, was proposed and accepted, — not unanimously, however, for "seventy-six worthy clergymen and laymen" set their faces against the business, and lest the robes of the Lutheran Church should be stained by such a heresy on its borders, these seventy-six orthodox objectors appealed for advice and consolation to the various theological faculties of "Evangelical" Germany. The University at Heidelberg, which is bound to the Upper Palatinate by every tie of interest and consanguinity, and which has probably furnished a majority of its pulpits with preachers, has spoken its opinion through the honest heart and eloquent pen of Ullmann. (See the last

number of the "Studien und Kritiken.") This opinion is that of men moderately conservative, desirous of progress, yet fearful of too rapid change. Viewing the matter as professors and churchmen, they strongly condemn the proposed constitution. "We do not expect," they say, "that all will agree with us, but we feel sure that many will condemn the proposed change in harsher terms than we have felt inclined to." We think so, too.

Ullmann treats this constitution in a characteristic way. He finds fault with it in three points; — 1. its form of faith; 2. its form of ceremonies; 3. its form of government. These objections remind us of the answer of a gun-maker of our acquaintance to a countryman who brought him a fowling-piece to be repaired. "Give it a new lock, stock, barrel, trimmings, and ramrod, and it will be a very excellent gun." Ullmann has left the Bavarians as little of their original constitution. We are sorry that this effort to save their consciences, without losing their position as members of the Evangelical Church, has met with so cold a reception. But it could not be otherwise without falsifying all experience. The effort was an honest and manly one, and we honor this section of the church for wishing to save themselves the duplicity of signing a creed which they do not believe; we respect the feelings which prompted them to avoid a schism, if it could be avoided, by saying no more than their consciences absolutely required them to say. The constitution begins thus, "The Protestants of the Palatinate desire to remain firmly and fraternally united as a Protestant Evangelical Christian Church. — This church forms a part of the United Protestant Evangelical Church. — The church doctrine is *the word of God as the same is contained in the clear utterances of the holy Scripture, and particularly of the New Testament.*"

It is surely a favorable omen, that a large majority of this synod of Spire concur with us in the doctrine, No creed but the Bible. Brighter days will come for the whole German Church, when it shall drop every thing save these elements of Christianity. There is enough of rational religion within her limits, could it once throw aside the restraint of forms and appear in its true character; and if that do not happen, we believe that, by an inevitable law, the Church will soon lose all influence and forfeit all claim to respect.

Ullmann, however, looks on the matter in a different light. He can see nothing but danger in this compendium of faith. He denies that it is enough to constitute the Palatinate Church a portion of the Church Evangelical, and threatens a dissolution of the connection in case it is adopted. The distinction made between the two parts of the Bible he calls an unheard of thing, and objects further, that the constitution has in another place dared to demand that all its doctrines shall be "*reasonble.*" This criterion of dogma, he affirms, opens the way to atheism and pantheism. Add to this that the *whole* creed is included in the sentence quoted, that not even so much as the old Apostolic symbol is set up as positive, and Ullmann finds ground enough to predict "the total ruin of the Evangelical Church of the Rhine Palatinate, if this constitution be carried into effect."

With the same severity, the rites of the Church are reviewed and censured in this "Opinion," particularly the rite of baptism and that of the Lord's supper. The first is defined to be "a solemn assumption into the society of the Christian Church," a definition so plain, simple,

and non-committal, that we commend it to the Bishop of Exeter, as a means of saving his pocket and temper. The "Opinion" decides it to be imperfect; it offers the professors nothing to carp at, and they are obliged to content themselves with grumbling at what it has kept unsaid. To them it wears the appearance of a wish to dodge the question. Unfortunately, however, the constitution goes on to say that, "if the parents wish it," in the course of the ceremony, "the *so-called* apostolic confession of faith may be pronounced." This slur upon an "ancient and venerable symbol, that has ever been common to all sects of Christians," excites open indignation at Heidelberg. The freedom of choice is considered and styled equivalent to a renunciation, and a renunciation of that which is the essence of Christianity must be followed by a surrender of the Christian name. The same spirit characterizes the whole "Opinion," — there is less complaint of actual heresy than of the lack of old, established doctrines. "The Church of the Palatinate," it says, bringing its most vital accusation at the close, "recognizes no sin, has no need of a Redeemer." Then we may fairly infer that Ullmann considers that dogma as not contained in the Bible. It has dropped the observance of "repentance-day," and "a church which has not at least one solemn day in the year for common repentance may be a very gay company, but is no longer a church of Christ and the Reformers"! This sounds servile and unworthy of Ullmann. We are too familiar here with such complaints to attach much importance to them.

The change in the form of church government is, perhaps, the most remarkable modification, and is looked upon by the "Evangelical" party in Germany with the most alarm, since it opens the way to every kind of innovation. It consists in a total withdrawal of all power over the Church from the hands of the state. The present state of the Church proves how wise a movement this is, and how necessary it has become. Protestantism long since lost her *progressive* character. Her champion by right of birth, the king of Prussia, was pointedly ridiculed by Strauss, under the character of Julian the Apostate. The duties of the royal protectors of the Church are limited to the promotion of favorites and the exercise of power for the suppression of freedom of thought. The age demands a more democratic organization, and an administration of livings more in accordance with merit. Of course, all satisfied incumbents lift their voices against the change, and predict the most disastrous consequences. We, on the other hand, anticipate better results. We know by experience that evil consequences do not necessarily flow from a free church organization, and we are inclined to smile, though we are not surprised as we hear these Baden professors protest in the name of the seventy-six "worthy clergymen and laymen" against "the subjection of all to the laws of a majority," and "the lowering of church offices to the free choice of the common will." We believe that a more blessed day never dawned on the Lutheran Church than that which is to witness such a change as this. The constitution of the Palatinate Church is in accordance with the republican ideas of the times. It places the law-making power, and the regulation of doctrine and culture, entirely in the hands of the community (*Gesammtheit*) of believers. The state is to protect the Church in the enjoyment of her rights, and guard against all transgressions of the civil law on her side. Each parish is to choose a presbytery. An inferior

synod, composed of clergymen and laymen, in the proportion of one to every thousand souls, is to be convened every year for the regulation of discipline and minor affairs of government in its own circuit. This yearly synod selects one delegate for every fifteen thousand souls to attend a convention held once in three years, and composed of an equal number of the clergy and laity. The triennial synod holds exclusively the law-making power.

Such are some of the most prominent features of this constitution, which have drawn down upon it the censure of "Evangelical" Germany. We find much to admire in its simplicity, and nothing to condemn. We only regret that its framers are not suffered to retain the title of Lutheran Christians in peace and quiet. This is not the only evidence of a desire on the part of many to release themselves from the trammels of the Augsburg Confession. The spirit of reform is not dead yet in the Church of the Reformers, and we wonder that the eloquent pen which has traced so successfully its progress in the past should be wielded against it, as it appears in life and action on the arena of the present. In his love and reverence of those great men to whom the world owes so much, Ullmann has failed to inherit or forgotten to cherish the spirit that inspired them. Were they living now, we believe he would find himself in hostility to them in the present controversy. We believe that the constitution before us contains all the essentials of Christianity, and has been dictated by a just and liberal spirit, and we hope the time is near when similar changes will be made in other quarters, for they are the true *Lutherans* who are promoting these changes, and they alone have inherited the spirit of the great founder of the Protestant Church.

The Synod of Thurles. — Much interest has attended the meeting just closed of the Synod of the National Council of the Roman Catholic Church, at Thurles in Ireland. Not the least of the perplexities which weigh with his triple-crowned tiara on the head of Pope Pius the Ninth is the formidable issue about which he must act as umpire, opened in Ireland between his clergy there in their almost equal division as to matters of state policy and religious administration. There are twenty-six Roman Catholic prelates in Ireland. The Abbot of Mount Melleray, who attended the Synod as a member, carried the twenty-seventh vote. The Council has published an Address to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, but the enactments which were passed will not be disclosed until they have received the approbation of the Pope Of course, then, we must wait for subsequent developments. In being carried up to the higher council at Rome, the measures which, through whatever amount of dissension, were finally agreed upon at Thurles will have to pass another ordeal between those who cling to the shadows of a superannuated spiritual tyranny and those who see the policy of a sagacious statesmanship in ecclesiastical affairs. It is no secret, that the nearer we advance towards the inner circle of the large web of spiritual domination, the closer are the threads which pass to the central figure in the Pope, who lives along each line, and feels at his very side the sympathy of the most distant movement. Jarring advisers, too, surround the Pontiff. The question for them to decide, as far as relates to the state of affairs in Ireland, is, whether they will set themselves in direct opposition to some of the best advised and most generous measures of the British government for the improvement of that country. It is to be re-

membered that these measures have the approbation of many of the Catholic clergy, and of a large number of the Catholic laity. The discreet and estimable Archbishop Murray leans to the government side, and if his advice passes for what it is worth, representing as it does the better public opinion of Ireland, the Pope will be slow to despise it. While waiting for a decision on their own enactments, the members of the Synod of Thurles have to reflect with what comfort they may upon their own dissensions. The published address to which we have referred, a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, purports to have been "read in full synod, and unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published." In this address the Queen's Colleges are condemned and denounced in the most unqualified terms, their system of instruction being represented "as fraught with grievous and intrinsic dangers"; — "an evil of a formidable kind, against which it is our imperative duty to warn you with all the energy of our zeal and all the weight of our authority." The Council then announces its determination to establish a Roman Catholic University in Ireland, and declares that a committee has already been appointed to examine and execute the details of the project. Denunciations of Bible schools and charities, and of evangelical and reformatory enterprises, conclude the address.

Resolutions suspending ecclesiastics who connect themselves with the Colleges, and admonishing the laity to abstain from them, passed the Synod. But all this bigotry prevailed only by a majority of *one*. This is the honest truth, and those who extol the peaceful unity of the councils of the Roman Church must meet the fact as they can. The record of the proceedings of the Synod has been transmitted to the Pope, accompanied by a solemn protest, and the reasons for it, on the part of the minority. That minority consists of thirteen against fourteen. Twelve had voted against the resolutions and proceedings of the Council, and Dr. Egan, Bishop of Kerry, who was absent an account of illness, afterwards subscribed the protest. One of its signers is to go to Rome to urge the grounds on which they differ.

The Money Power in Religion. — This is a new phrase, and though the words of which it is composed are so familiar, they are used in such a variety of senses that their combination into the phrase may leave its meaning somewhat in doubt. We are indebted for the phrase to the report of some of the speeches that were made at the last annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. That meeting seems to have been very spirited and harmonious, and to have refreshed the hearts of the devoted friends of missions. But a larger portion of the time, and the remarks of more of the speakers, than we have noticed as ever having been the case before, were on this occasion given up to the consideration of the pecuniary abilities of the Board. Besides being greatly impeded in its action, and compelled to forego some of the most inviting opportunities for its noble Christian agencies, the corporation is actually in arrears, which, however, is no new position for it, but, on the contrary, has become familiar, and not in the least alarming. No anxiety was manifested lest existing obligations should be dishonored, but the most earnest speakers strenuously urged that the annual contributions to the treasury of the Board ought to be, and might be, nearly double what they now are. In the debates bearing upon this point came out more than once the phrase, *the money power in re-*

ligion. Need we interpret it? Certainly all the help that can be wanted towards its interpretation is found in reminding ourselves that, as, in the words of Solomon, "money answereth all things," so money will advance the cause of missions. Two principal questions were discussed in reference to this point; — first, whether the existing official servants of the Board at home could be safely and judiciously charged with the care and administration of a greatly increased fund; which was decided in the affirmative; — and secondly, whether, for this and for coming years, the contributions could be made to reach the sum of half a million of dollars. There was some difference of opinion on this latter point. While all agreed that the money power could affect much in the missionary work, many discreet men, whom experience had instructed, had their doubts whether the churches could be made to increase their gifts so largely. As nearly all the measures that are conceivable or practicable are now used to obtain the amount which is still below the maximum in a series of annual contributions, an increased amount will require either some new measure or a harder strain upon some long-tried and well-tasked agency. Here and there, a layman is ready to offer his aid in rallying resources. But it is well known that, after all, the ministers must instigate, direct, and apply the means by which every addition to the religious subscription-paper or contribution-box is obtained; and a minister's opinion as to what can be expected from his own congregation in that way is all but infallible.

Each one of the speakers before the Board who professed a belief that half a million of dollars could be raised annually, of course, virtually pledged himself to obtain a proportionate increase of the sum for the contribution of which he is officially responsible. Many might hesitate to take such an increased responsibility, for they would well know by experience the practical difficulties which it involved. In no single point of view does the disinterestedness of a large number of the ministers of all denominations in towns and country villages in New England appear in so striking a light, as when we consider that very many who are themselves made to feel the gripe of poverty on account of a very stinted and precarious support from their parishes, do also charge themselves with the obligation of drawing from their people various charitable contributions for the good of humanity at large. To the honor of our so-called Orthodox brethren, let it be said, that this praise is in an especial degree due to them. "Husband," said the wife of a poor country minister, with more children about him than he ever had dollars in his pocket at one time, — "husband, why can you not take some spare hours and write an article for a review, or a lyceum lecture, and so make a little addition to our means?" The reply was, — "I have no spare hours. I must occupy what might be such by preparing materials to make the monthly concert as interesting as possible, or we shall have nothing for the Board this year. And as for a lyceum lecture, you know that I wrote one such, and delivered it *gratis* in five different places, while I paid postage on three of the letters which invited me to the service."

The phrase upon which we have been commenting calls up a train of thought that has more than once presented itself to our minds upon the eleemosynary aspects and character of the Christian ministry. The clerical profession has long been regarded as a charitable institution, sustained by a sort of alms-giving, beneficiary process, — as under obligation to sue for a support and continually renew its claims. Nor is this all.

Ministers are made to be the pleaders, often the importunate, and sometimes the unsuccessful pleaders, for most of those agencies which are designed to apply the merciful, the reformatory, and the missionary enterprises of religion. If this topic were pursued at length, and into particulars, it would develop matters of peculiar interest, and gather some considerable discussion of fundamental truths.

The Christian ministry has always had an eleemosynary aspect. The Apostles were obliged to remind the first generation of disciples, that those who preached the Gospel had a right to expect to live by the Gospel. During the palmy days of the Roman Church, though it provided so well for itself, clerical beggars, who in the shape of mendicants and friars kept the roads open by their frequent journeyings and exacted gifts from all classes, sustained the eleemosynary aspect of the profession. Both in the Roman and in the Protestant folds, candidates for the ministry have for the most part been trained and supported as beneficiaries. Their maintenance and education have been regarded generally as offices of charity. Why is this? What is the explanation of the fact? A partial explanation may be found in the suggestion, that preparation for the ministry involves expenses, for diet, shelter, and raiment, for a library and the highest kinds of instruction, while it is at the same time entirely unproductive. To say nothing of the handicrafts in which apprentices earn more than the cost of their support, and comparing preparation for the ministry with the training for some other professions, we notice a marked distinction. The young medical student may be of some aid to a practising physician from whom he is learning his art. A young law-student contributes to the gains of his teacher through what is called office-work. But a theological student earns and produces nothing. This distinction, however, does not explain entirely the aspect of charity which has long been attached to an education for the ministry. Probably a full explanation could be found only in the suggestion, that, as the ministry is itself to so great an extent a work of charity and mercy, the fitness of things requires that benevolence should educate benevolence. Those who have "freely received" may be regarded as thereby best qualified "freely to give."

For the same eleemosynary aspect of the ministry presents itself again in the fact, that ministers are the instruments for exacting what is needed for the ends of religion. Very often they are compelled to do their work as if they were asking for charity, not to say, begging.

Is a church to be built, or a benevolent contribution to be raised, or a missionary to be supported, the minister must plead and urge, and follow up a public appeal by private solicitations. Halls of legislation and of justice, hospitals, medical colleges, and schools, are built without any personal urgency on the part of those who are professionally interested in them. The whole community freely contributes, or legislative grants, or self-imposed taxes, or liberal donations, or princely bequests furnish the means. But when the ends of religion are at stake, whether for sectarian objects or for missionary efforts, — the profession that is supposed to be exclusively interested is invoked, and ministers must do every thing short of absolute teasing. It is very seldom that laymen relieve them of this office of holy beggary. The asking of alms for religious purposes thus identifies the ministry with importunacy, with greediness, and with exaction. This may be either a compliment to the profession, or a reflection upon it, according as those who are concerned choose to regard it. It certainly is hard to be looked upon as a beggar, when one is asking in

the name of all that is generous and holy in behalf of the miserable and the wicked. But, on the other hand, the nobleness and the honor of the cause for which one pleads may well reconcile him to the reproach, which only the inconsiderate attach even to the most incessant appeals for religious charity.

What, after all, is the measure of the money power in religion? In our opinion it can hardly be rated too low. Money can accomplish less in the service of religion than in any other work under heaven. We do not believe that the degree and strength of the religious element in a community are indicated by the readiness to contribute money to the missionary or any other religious enterprise. True, ministers must be fed in order that they may work. But the people are wise in their anxiety lest the ministers be over-fed. A missionary cause requires money, but it requires every thing else before money and more than money. There is a better reason than mere selfishness at the bottom of the grudging reluctance to give, which is so often complained of by the agents of religious charities. People are largely influenced by a notion — which has in it a grain of truth, though it may be readily exaggerated and misapplied — that a laborer in the cause of religion should consider that his work is a part of his support. It is thought that what zeal, earnestness, and sacrifice may lack for a sustenance, they will always of themselves win by the force of their own appeals without speaking the word *money*, but that the moment any great stress is laid upon the demand for money, there is full evidence that something else is wanting. And it is remarkable that this test is all the more rigidly applied, according as a service requires more and more of zeal and self-sacrifice. The harder the work done for religion, the more stintedly is it always paid, the supposition being that, the more zeal, the less is the sense of want. Parish ministers always receive more than do missionaries, it being taken for granted that the zeal which leads one to become a missionary far away from the bounds of civilization indicates an insensibility to many of the wants which are felt and indulged at home. There is no question but that there is a strong and popular dislike to beggary in the name of religion. Whenever we meet with any such strong and popular feeling, which withstands all assaults to weaken and overcome it, and does not yield, though sometimes taken by stratagem and earnestness, we may be sure that it has reason in it, and not always an unworthy reason. We are persuaded that the less stress that is laid upon the money power in religion, the more healthy and effective will be all religious enterprises. We can conceive of a state of things which would at once more than double the annual receipts of the American Missionary Board. If we may respectfully hint at it, we will say, that it would require all the home offices of correspondence and management to be filled by religious men of independent property, so that not a single dollar collected from the often hard earnings of contributors in this country should be spent upon this side of the water; that it would also require that all the missionaries who have once reached a distant scene of labor should never leave it for a visit here, but should die where they have labored, so that one passage for themselves and for their families should be the whole cost of their mission, and their zeal should be attested by their foreign graves; and finally, that it would require that no merchant-ship should leave our wharves for heathen lands without an urgent appeal from some earnest

evangelist to be allowed to go in her. When this state of things is realized, bank-bills will be offered for the missionary cause almost as profusely as its paper tracts are distributed.

The Affairs of the Second Church in Boston. — An event so extraordinary and so widely talked of as the loss of a new and costly house of worship, by one of the oldest and most respectable parishes in Boston, demands something more than a cursory notice in our ecclesiastical record. It has long been our wish to devote to this matter the careful attention it deserves, and to obtain such a thorough knowledge of all the facts in the case as to authorize us to lay before our readers a full and exact statement. We should have done this at an earlier period, but for two reasons; — 1st, the disinclination of Mr. Robbins to allow any use to be made of documents in his possession, which a few of the proprietors of the building in Hanover Street seemed desirous of keeping private; and 2d, the undecided question of the continuance of the Second Church, for which the pastor and nearly all of the congregation were laboring, — a question which we are happy to learn has recently been brought to a favorable settlement. Having now become possessed of all the requisite information and authority, we use the earliest opportunity to furnish an authentic narrative, in as condensed a form as possible.

So far as we are able to judge, the general impression of the public with regard to the circumstances producing and attending the catastrophe of which we write has been correct. We are not aware that any blame has ever been attached to the minister, or that any one has supposed that the troubles of the parish could have been prevented by the utmost fidelity and ability on the part of any one man. Neither have any journals, whether secular or religious, that have come under our notice, attributed the loss of the house to a decay of religious life, or any intrinsic weakness in the church, or to any other than an *incidental* and *occasional* cause. But notwithstanding the prevalence of such an impression, the facts which justify it are not all known, while many imperfect and unfounded reports, with reference to particulars, have, as might be expected, been in circulation.

So long ago as the year 1830, under the ministry of Ralph Waldo Emerson, the question of selling or demolishing the old meeting-house, and rebuilding in a more central part of the city, began to be seriously agitated. The tendency to removal among our native population from the northerly wards — which has since been so remarkable — was even at that period sufficient to have materially affected the local relations of the proprietors of the Second Church to their place of worship. Quite one half of them, or perhaps more, were residing at a considerable distance from the church towards the south, who, finding the walk uncomfortable, yet strongly attached to the society, were desirous of having the meeting-house where it would be more convenient to their own families, and more likely to secure a full attendance of worshippers. Those, on the contrary, who lived in the neighbourhood of the venerable edifice which had become strongly endeared to them by early associations, and whom it well accommodated, insisted earnestly against any change. The former yielded to the latter, from a sense of justice, as well as for the sake of harmony, and all action was suspended. But though the matter was not brought up in any parish meetings for sev-

eral years, it formed the subject of frequent conversation, and was never out of the minds of the people. Thus, by the operation of causes wholly independent of personal feelings, there grew up in the congregation two parties, having equal attachment to the church, but conflicting local interests.

Such was the constitution of the society at the time of Mr. Robbins's settlement, in December, 1833. The congregation, which had been somewhat diminished on account of the peculiar views and position taken by Mr. Emerson with regard to the Lord's Supper, soon gathered again, and filled the pews with serious and respectable worshippers. It would be difficult to find a society more harmonious, or generally more interested in religious duties. But still the *sectional division* existed and increased, and constituted a continual trial and cause of anxiety, both to minister and people. For seven or eight years, however, it was studiously kept out of sight in all parish meetings.

In 1840, when it was found that the old house needed extensive repairs, the question of rebuilding necessarily, and very properly, came up again for discussion. The South End party had now become a majority, besides being more wealthy, and felt that they had a right at length to urge their claims, more especially as the interests of worship seemed to require a more accessible location. They agreed upon a site for the new church, in Somerset Street, and went so far as to obtain subscriptions to a very large amount towards its erection. The North End portion of the Society still objected, and with great firmness held out against removal. An offer was made to the pastor by the former, in case he would go with them, to push the matter to an immediate issue, obtain the largest possible vote, and proceed at once to build on the proposed location. This offer was of course refused without hesitation. In this state of things, a letter was addressed by Mr. Robbins to the parish, in which, after urging both parties to be studious of concord, and to make concessions for the general good, he uses this language: —

"Now it is manifest that, if either party shall be unyielding, one of two results must follow, — either the parish will be divided, or, if not actually rent in twain, that portion which shall succeed in obtaining its desire with regard to the location of the church will force the other to submit to perpetual inconvenience by remaining in connection with the society, and compel some individuals to withdraw, whom we should all be sorry to lose. Both these results are greatly to be deprecated, and not to be suffered to take place if any means can be devised to prevent them. . . . . I believe that it would be possible, with the exercise of a little forbearance, to agree upon an arrangement that shall give very general satisfaction, and tend to the security and increase of the parish. This arrangement must have reference to two points, — 1st, *the location of the new church;* 2d, *its cost.*" The location suggested was not farther south than Court Street, nor farther north than Union Street. With regard to the cost, Mr. Robbins thus wrote: —

"A very expensive and splendid church I am sure it is not the general wish of the congregation to have. I am still more certain that such is not my desire. I can never look with approbation upon the too common practice of religious societies, of vying with one another in building showy and extravagant places of worship. The spirit which is thus manifested is not the spirit of Christ The example is bad, — the tendency pernicious. More especially, when, to accomplish this end, the society must run in debt. Such buildings exclude the poor, and those who are in moderate circumstances, and draw in the fashionable, and those whose motives in selecting

their place of worship are any thing but religious. They hold out a lure to ambitious men of small means to buy pews which they cannot honestly afford to own. They make the taxes burdensome, and they lead to the indulgence of feelings of pride and vain show, which turn away attention from the spiritual worship of God, to the 'marble dome and gilded spire and costly pomp of sacrifice.' We ought, if we build, to erect a capacious, commodious, substantial, and neat edifice, — one of which we shall neither be ashamed nor proud, — one in which a good pew can be procured without extravagance, — one which may go down to our children's children by reason of its solidity, and burdened with no encumbrances by reason of the pride of their ancestors, — one which, from the corner-stone to the pinnacle, shall be built up justly and honestly."

This letter stopped for a time all further proceedings. An attempt was then made to find a suitable site somewhere in the part of the city recommended by the pastor. After the failure of this attempt, the South End members of the society gradually lost their interest in the project of removal, which seemed destined to continual disappointment, whilst the zeal of the other party increased, and their hopes strengthened. At length, having a small majority, the latter obtained a decisive vote to demolish the old church, and rebuild on the same spot, with the understanding that the whole cost of the new building should not exceed thirty-four thousand dollars. This proceeding produced much discontent, and caused the withdrawal of several of the most substantial parishioners.

The building committee, in their desire to procure a durable and beautiful house, that should not only be worthy of the society, but an ornament also to the north part of the city, caused to be erected the spacious and costly edifice which, contrary to their expectations, has been the cause of unmeasured distress to the parish they hoped to honor.

When the building was completed, it was deemed necessary, in order to effect a sale of the pews, to appraise them for a sum very much less than the cost of construction. If *all* had been sold, there would still have remained a large debt. More than one hundred *were* purchased, and many for very large sums, and yet the debt was found to be not far from forty thousand dollars. For a large part of this amount, the building was mortgaged, the mortgage to run till 1851 or 1852. Notwithstanding this heavy and dangerous burden, the society seemed steadily to increase. But the managers of its affairs were ever solicitous about the debt, and often deliberated concerning the mode of lightening or discharging it. The standing committee, with exceptions, were of opinion that the true course was to assess the pews for the whole amount, and pay it at once.

A parish meeting was called, and a vote demanded on this proposition. The meeting was very numerously attended, and the proposition negatived by an immene majority. A short time after, the committee called another meeting on parish affairs, at which very few of the proprietors were present, when it was voted, in substance, that the whole subject of the debt be left in the hands of the standing committee. The committee then proceeded to assess the whole debt on the pews. The assessment amounted to 80 per cent. of their original cost. This act of the committee gave great offence. Nearly a hundred proprietors gave up their deeds on account of it. About twenty paid the assessment. In this emergency, Mr. Robbins volunteered to endeavour, by personal application to the offended indi-

viduals, to induce them to repurchase. The twenty proprietors agreed that, in case he would obtain the sale of *seventy-five* pews (the whole being reappraised so as to cover the debt), they would consent to admit the purchasers to their corporation. Those to whom he applied understood that they were only to be held bound to an engagement to repurchase, on condition that the whole number specified should be obtained. This was in the spring of 1849. Mr. Robbins procured the desired promise from nearly sixty individuals, when, being compelled by imperative calls of a domestic nature to take a short journey to the South, a committee appointed by the congregation agreed to take the business in charge, and try to complete the requisite list. When the pastor returned, he found, to his surprise, that the project had been abandoned.

A few months later, in June, 1849, persuaded that all hopes of saving the building were at an end, and seeing his old parishioners continually dropping away, he sent to the proprietors the subjoined letter of resignation. According to established usage, this letter would have been publicly read from the pulpit. But from feelings of delicacy towards the small body of proprietors, it was sent to them through their clerk, and left at their disposal. It was never read to the congregation. We have obtained a copy, which we introduce as throwing light upon the historical facts pertaining to our record.

"*To the Proprietors of the Second Church.*

"My Friends: — After long and prayerful deliberation, attended with no little suffering, I have become convinced that it is my duty to make to you the communication which I now send. Some of you may have anticipated it; to a few it may be unexpected; but to all I trust it will approve itself as being neither unreasonable, unfriendly, nor unjust. I ask for it attentive and calm consideration, and kind construction.

"From the hour when a small majority of the proprietors of the Second Church voted to build a new house of worship on the spot occupied by the old, dissensions and embarrassments have afflicted our society, which before that period had been proverbially harmonious and prosperous. You are aware that my own advice was against the course taken by the majority, as well as against building a costly church. In evidence of my views on these subjects, I refer you to a letter addressed by me to the society, when the question of rebuilding was first agitated. You will find the letter on file amongst the papers in the keeping of your clerk. Permit me, however, to quote from it a few sentences." [The extracts inserted here are the same which we have already quoted on pages 513, 514.]

"Such were my opinions and feelings, — such the counsels which I presumed to offer. I had no right to expect for them so much influence as to overbalance the wishes of the majority of the proprietors. But I think experience has clearly proved that they were wise and seasonable, and that, if they had been regarded, both the parish and its minister would have been saved from much trouble.

"When, however, the vote had been passed by the society to build upon the old spot, it became my duty not only to acquiesce, but to use my best exertions to produce a general feeling of interest and good-will throughout the congregation. You will bear me witness that I was not faithless in these respects, but that whatever influence I could command was in favor of union and peace, and in furtherance of the plans of the majority of the proprietors.

"For a short time after the completion of your new edifice, there were signs of a renewal of our prosperity. Former proprietors repurchased, old worshippers returned, new members were added to the society, and all things went on well. But when the magnitude of your debt was fully

realized, it not only added a *new* cause of discontent and discord to those which were beginning to subside, but revived and strengthened all the rest.

"Various plans have been tried by you to lessen your debt; but they have failed. I have myself three times preached to the society on the subject, once addressed you at a proprietors' meeting, and once gone about soliciting individual contributions, — obtaining nearly enough to secure the safety of your building, — but no positive or permanent benefit has resulted from my efforts. If the last of them had been seconded with a little more spirit, it would have succeeded, and your troubles would have been by this time at an end. I must be permitted to express my profound grief and surprise, that, when the work of saving the church was so nearly accomplished, it should have been suffered to fall through.

"At length, in consequence of an act of the standing committee, nearly one hundred proprietors gave up their pews. Some of them continue to worship with us; but many have withdrawn, — disappointed, weary, desponding, or perhaps offended, — till but a small remnant is left of the congregation once familiar and dear to me. The departure of friend after friend from your pews has caused me pang after pang, till my heart has become sore from the rupture of so many cherished pastoral ties. Nor is the pain of separation lightened to me by the tokens I have uniformly received of the unchanged attachment of those who have left.

"Such is the present condition of the society, and such, in brief, the history of the circumstances which have produced it. And now what is the prospect before us? Let it be looked at clearly and soberly. Your debt of forty thousand dollars remains unpaid. No provision is made, none now proposed, for paying it. The pews cannot be sold, — no man would be so imprudent as to buy, none so unwise as to expect to sell. The interest on the debt, together with the current expenses of the society, can only be raised by very high taxes, and the rent of a large number of pews. I believe it is well ascertained that the amount you will thus procure during the present year will fall so far short of the requisite sum as considerably to augment your debt. Your pecuniary embarrassment is becoming greater every day. I can see nothing before you but deeper difficulty, the gradual and steady desertion of worshippers, and the sacrifice of your house. Not one ray of promise sufficient to excite the hope of a judicious mind, so far as I can see, breaks the impending gloom. All that any of you say to encourage me is that '*something* MAY *yet turn up*.' But, my friends, the caprice of chance is no basis for the plans of reasonable and serious men, — and even if it were *ordinarily* safe to rely upon it, it would be in the present instance too much to expect such a rare revolution of Fortune's wheel as would discharge your enormous debt, which, in spite of all our efforts, under more favorable circumstances than can again occur, has not been even so much as diminished.

"Meanwhile, the *religious* condition of the society is wholly discouraging, and its *benevolent action* entirely crippled. This is the consideration that weighs more heavily upon my heart than all others. If it were not for this fact, all your troubles might be remedied. If there were but religious life in the society, even its immense pecuniary burden would be comparatively light. But I have long mourned that it is dying out. I have long felt that circumstances must render my preaching abortive. I have nothing to hope for in occupying your pulpit, except to defer a little longer the sale of the house. Hard and sad experience has taught me that I cannot look for much spiritual edification against the pressure of our temporal distress. I have nothing to cheer me, — every thing to dishearten. I can enjoy no satisfactory Christian communion with you whilst secular difficulties take precedence of all other subjects of conversation and interest, and seem to swallow up the hearts of my people. I fear for my own spiritual life. Soul and body are beginning to suffer from long anxiety, discouragement, and suspense.

"Influenced by such considerations, I am constrained to ask to be released from my obligations to the proprietors of the Second Church, and do herewith tender to you my resignation of them. From the *congregation* and the *church* — all whose members since my connection with them I have sincerely loved — I can never be spiritually separated. My heart is true to them still, wherever they or I may dwell. If this instrument were to dissever the ties that bind me to them, my hand could not have written it. But many of them have already left your pews, and the remainder might soon follow, even if I were to retain your pulpit. It is to the small body of less than a score of *proprietors of the building*, that, according to legal usage, I offer my resignation. Individually, they are included with those of whom I have just now spoken. But collectively, in their capacity of owners of the house, I do not feel as if they constituted the society which has been and ever will be dear to me. The *house* has scattered the flock, — the *house* is breaking up the church. It is from the house I desire to be separated, before it shall consummate the destruction of a venerable and once lovely and most beloved Christian association.

"In conclusion, I must express the feeling of deep reluctance under which I have prepared and now send this communication. No one of you can understand how deep and tender has been my affection for the Second Church, nor how painful is the conviction, that, without the occurrence of any thing to disturb that affection, and without the forfeiture of the love of any of the members of the congregation, a mere pecuniary difficulty should compel me to resign my pastoral office. Throughout all the troubles of the society, I rejoice to feel that I have experienced from every parishioner unvarying kindness and respect, and I am pleased to say that I have received from the proprietors the prompt and full payment of my salary. No minister can have found a flock more friendly and considerate towards himself.

"And now I cannot close without saying that I had formed, and have fulfilled, the purpose to remain with you and to share your burden so long as there might be any prospect of sustaining the *society* by saving your *house*. As far as I can see or can learn from your treasurer, the case is as hopeless as I have described it to be. If, however, any thing can yet be done towards liquidating your debt, no consideration shall avail to induce me to separate myself from you at the present time; on the contrary, no one would be willing to sacrifice more than I should be to hold the house of worship in your possession, and thereby to keep alive the church and congregation.

"Faithfully, your friend and servant,

"CHANDLER ROBBINS.

"Boston, 21st June, 1848."

Soon after the reception of this letter, the proprietors voted to accept their minister's resignation, and close the church. It was closed accordingly, and never afterwards opened for worship by the Second Church.

Meantime, before the intervention of a single Sabbath after the close of the meeting-house, the communicants of the church, called together by the deacons, voted unanimously to request Mr. Robbins to continue his ministrations, and appointed a committee to procure a suitable place of worship. Such a place was obtained; a large majority of the congregation assembled, and all the ordinances of religion have been regularly administered till the present time. The chapel of the Church of the Disciples in Freeman Place, being vacant on account of the failure of Mr. Clarke's health, has been recently purchased, and the members of the Second Church are once more gathered in a pleasant and convenient house. The proprietors of the building in Hanover

Street having sold their property in it to the Methodists, and settled up their affairs, have voted, with only three in opposition, to take the deed of the Freeman Place Chapel in their own name, they being involved in no pecuniary responsibility, so that the society under Mr. Robbins may be legally and legitimately *the Second Church.*

Such is, we believe, a correct statement of the principal facts pertaining to this singular history. We have purposely abstained from swelling this notice by any comments. All must rejoice, that one of the oldest and brightest stars in the beautiful and harmonious constellation of our city's sacred lights has not become extinct, but, having been only clouded for a time, is beginning to shine once more with reviving rays.

Autumnal Unitarian Convention at Springfield. — The delightful season of the year, and the local attactions of the place of meeting, drew a very large assemblage to the Convention at Springfield. The great central line of travel through the heart of the Commonwealth offered its generous help to all who wished to attend, at half the usual fare, and the hospitalities of private dwellings were extended to those who preferred them to the excellent public houses of the town. Our weekly papers have furnished such extended accounts of the proceedings of the Convention, that it would be but needless iteration for us to enter into a detail of them. It was an occasion of much enjoyment, and, we believe, of mental and spiritual profit. Devotional exercises, didactic and hortatory addresses and fervent appeals, shared in their due proportion the time of the Convention, and constituted its whole interest.

The introductory services were held on Tuesday evening, October 15th, in the meeting-house of the Second Church and Society (Rev. Mr. Simmons's). Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre offered prayer, and a discourse was preached by Rev. Dr. Peabody of Boston, from Mark ix. 24, — "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief." His subject was "Imperfect Faith," and he presented its signs, characteristics, and effects, and the necessity of directing intellectual and spiritual effort in a direction that shall meet it.

The Convention was organized on Wednesday morning, at 9 o'clock, by the choice of Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston for President, of Rev. Drs. Willard of Deerfield and Young of Boston, and James H. Wells, Esq., of Hartford, Ct., and Seth Low, Esq., of Brooklyn, L. I., for Vice-Presidents, and of Rev. Rufus Ellis of Northampton and Rev. R. P. Cutler of Portland, Me., for Secretaries. Prayer was offered by the President, and then a series of resolutions was presented by the Business Committee, as follows: —

1st. *Resolved*, That, to secure the legitimate influence of our religion on the heart and life, it is specially required that those primary truths of the Gospel which unfold the spiritual wants of our race, and the way of deliverance, and a divine life through Jesus Christ, be most distinctly asserted and vindicated.

2d. *Resolved*, That, while the intense worldliness of the times, and the excitability which distinguishes the American people, call for an active interest in divine truth, on the part of our laymen, the intellectual standard of the period, and growing skepticism and indifference to Christian institutions, demand the most thorough culture and entire devotedness in the ministry.

3d. *Resolved*, That the constant and rapid increase of this nation in terri-

tory and numbers opens before us a vast missionary field, in which, with all Christian sects, it is our equal and immediate duty to be actively engaged, alike for the interests of our fellow-men, for the life of our churches, and to secure unity of action in our denomination.

4th. *Resolved*, That, as a distinguishing characteristic of our denomination has always been to seek for the elements of pure Christian truth, and to enforce their direct application to human life, we feel it to be our duty, at the present time, to authenticate the principles of Christian faith, by Scriptural study, by intelligent inquiry, and by practical piety, and thus to meet the skepticism, the indecision, and the worldliness of our times.

5th. *Resolved*, That, while we gratefully remember the labors of a faithful father in the ministry, Rev. ELIJAH DUNBAR of Peterborough, and the active zeal and philanthropy of a younger brother, Rev. Mr. PERKINS of Cincinnati, who have passed on from their earthly life, we have cause for rejoicing, in view of our present need, that during the past year no active minister of our Christian connection, with a single exception, has been removed by death.

The discussion of these resolutions was immediately entered upon, after the adoption of the Rules and Regulations established at former Conventions. Clergymen of other denominations in Springfield who were present were invited to take seats in the Convention, and the courtesy was appropriately acknowledged by the Rev. Dr. Osgood of the First Church. The invitation was also extended to the Rev. Dr. Massoch, a Unitarian minister from Hungary. In the course of the discussions in the Convention the following brethren offered remarks: — Bellows and Osgood of New York, Farley of Brooklyn, Hall of Providence, Hill and Hale of Worcester, Greene of Brookfield, Willard of Deerfield, Ellis of Northampton, Bellows of Barnstable, Lincoln of Kensington, N. H., Richardson of Chelsea, Pierpont of Medford, Briggs of Plymouth, Palfrey of Belfast, Me., Brigham of Taunton, Ellis of Charlestown, Webster of Wheeling, Va., Nute of Scituate, Nightingale of Chicopee, Hall of Dorchester, Gannett, Lincoln, and Parkman of Boston, Simmons of Springfield, Osgood of Cohasset, Harrington of Hartford, Ct., Hill of Waltham, Osgood of Springfield, and Robert Rantoul, Esq., of Beverly.

Dr. Massoch, after a few sentences in English, addressed he Convention very fluently in Latin.

The Collation, provided by the ladies of the Second Parish in Hampden Hall, afforded the highest social enjoyment on Wednesday evening, and some pleasant and brief speeches were made here by Deacon Greele and Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston, Rev. Dr. Osgood of Springfield, and Rev. Mr. Osgood of New York.

On Thursday morning, at 9 o'clock, after devotional exercises by Rev. Mr. Ellis of Charlestown, a sermon was preached by Rev. C. T. Brooks of Newport, R. I., from Isaiah lxiii. 8., on the Saving Grace of Sincerity. The discussion of the Resolutions was then continued. Another sermon was preached in the evening by Rev. G. W. Briggs of Plymouth, from John xiii. 25, 26, "He then, lying on Jesus's breast, saith unto him, Lord, who is it? . . . . . And when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon." Meetings for religious speeches, prayer, and praise were held in the vestry of the church on Wednesday and Thursday mornings, at 7½ o'clock.

A desire was expressed on the part of some members that the Convention should enter upon the discussion of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

This proposition was opposed by others. It was decided, however, to charge the Business Committee with the preparation of a resolution concerning it, which was adopted almost unanimously, as follows : —

Resolved, That we regard with profound sorrow and detestation the provisions of a law recently enacted by our national legislature, and known as the Fugitive Slave Bill, and that we believe this opinion to be general; and we are determined to use all righteous measures to secure its speedy repeal.

We hardly need to add, that the opposition to the discussion of this subject was wholly independent of the opinions held by dissentients of the character of the Fugitive Slave Bill. Some of them regarded the topic as wholly irrelevant to the occasion, as much so as the subject of Capital Punishment or Socialism would have been. Others objected to its introduction, because they feared that it would receive only a hasty, superficial, or very partial discussion, while they would have been glad to have had even the whole time of the Convention devoted to a thorough, broad, and complete consideration of the religious or casuistical bearings of the Bill. It will be perceived that the resolution leaves the subject before the minds of the various members of the Convention almost precisely in the same condition in which they found it. The interpretation of the word *righteous* covers a very large and free range in our communities now.

Ordinations. — Mr. John McCarty Windsor, from the Theological School at Meadville, Pa., was ordained as an Evangelist, in the Church of the Divine Unity, New York, on Sunday evening, September 29th. A council had previously been held at the house of Rev. H. W. Bellows. The Introductory Prayer was offered by Rev. Austin Craig of Feltville, N. J.; Sermon, by Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York; Prayer of Ordination, by Rev. F. A. Farley of Brooklyn; Charge, by Rev. C. H. Fay of New York; Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev. S. Osgood of New York; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. J. W. Webster of Wheeling, Va.

Mr. Samuel Larnard, also from the School at Meadville, was ordained as an Evangelist, at the Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, L. I., on Sunday evening, October 6th. A council had previously been held at the house of Rev. Dr. Farley. The Sermon was preached by Rev. H. W. Bellows. Rev. S. Osgood offered the Prayer of Ordination, and extended the Fellowship of the Churches. Rev. Dr. Farley delivered the Charge. The other services were by Rev. T. B. Thayer of Brooklyn.

OBITUARY.

Died in Cambridge, August 31, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Ware, widow of the late Rev. Professor Henry Ware, Senior, aged 74.

In the beautiful memorial tribute to the late Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, by his fellow Professor, Dr. Palfrey, mention is made of the domestic traits and the enjoyment of home happiness which were so richly granted to him whose honored and beloved partner

has now followed him to the believer's rest. A companionship of more than forty years was allotted to them. Most pleasantly do their images rise up before us. One path through the College grounds will always recall to us those images. He was a man of rare candor, of great gentleness of speech, and of an excellent spirit. He had a frugal home, yet always a crowded table. With a quiver like that of which the Psalmist speaks (Psalm cxxvii.), alike remarkable for its fulness and the character of its contents, his family also embraced for many years a very large number of students. His dependence upon his partner, therefore, was such as to engage all virtues and all good energies in a wife. She was equal to her station, and worthy of it. The impression made by her calm and faithful spirit, her friendliness and wise care, endeared her to those who were members of her household. She was uniformly respected by all who knew her through every period of her life, the close of which, though somewhat sudden, was attended by many mercies, and met by a spirit resigned and prepared for death.

Died in Quincy, Sunday, September 1st, 1850, aged 77, Mrs. Eliza Susan Morton Quincy, wife of Hon. Josiah Quincy, late President of Harvard College.

So respectful and affectionate are our remembrances of this most excellent woman, that we could scarce refrain from expressing our sense of them after her departure from the earth, even if the many almost public stations which she occupied and so much adorned did not require such a commemoration of her. Her refined and dignified features, her gentle and courteous address, her modest and sincere form of speech, come up impressively before us, and remind us that only a most delicate memorial can befit the graces of her character. It is now more than a score of years since as a young guest we were first privileged to see her in her own home at Cambridge. We recall readily, for we have never forgotten, the impression which we then received from her benevolent greeting and her friendly words. Each subsequent interview or visit, with an increased ability to appreciate excellences of character, and a better instructed estimate of its highest and most difficult virtues, has led us to regard Mrs. Quincy as one of the most admirable examples of her sex in every thing that refines, softens, and elevates the best human sensibilities, while natural endowments, and ladylike graces, and true Christian acquirements, completed the engaging whole. Her politeness was uniform and natural, and without a trace of art. Her judgments were always most kind and generous. Her interest in those who were brought into incidental relations with her made friends of those who would not have been slighted if they had been left to be strangers. Her pure and hearty love of every thing that is benevolent or Christian, not only proved, but illustrated, that "the law of God was in her heart," and that she had the precious ornament of "a meek and quiet spirit." Always upon "her tongue was the law of kindness." She was in every respect one of those pure and elevated persons, whose characters and death make it easier for us to believe in such a state beyond the grave as our faith promises to the good. The highest test which we can apply to any character is to ask ourselves whether its translation from the earth makes heaven nearer and more real to us. That test is tried and commended to us by the decease of Mrs. Quincy.

Mrs. Quincy was the youngest daughter of John Morton, Esq., a dis-

tinguished merchant and banker, of New York, whose death in 1781 committed his daughter to the care of her brother, the late General Morton, of New York. She was married in 1797, and since that period has shared the public honors and responsibilities of her distinguished husband, in the succession of eminent offices which he has filled in his long career of services to the nation, the State, the courts of justice, the chief magistracy of the city, and to the College of which he was the President and the historian, — all of which he has passed through only to make them more honorable to his successors by his unstained integrity and his fidelity. How much of aid and strength he must have derived in many arduous and anxious labors from his late companion, her own full sympathy with him can alone afford the estimate. During the sixteen years of Mr. Quincy's Presidency over the College, Mrs. Quincy won the warm esteem and love of the members of the successive classes, and was never named but to be honored.

Died in Milford, N. H., on September 3d, Rev. Elijah Dunbar, aged 77. Mr. Dunbar was born in that part of Stoughton, Mass., which now forms the township of Canton. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1794, in a class which had a somewhat singular notoriety in College, on account of a half comic and half satirical poem, called "Classology," written by William Biglow, a member of the class. Mr. Dunbar was afterwards a Tutor in Williams College, and was ordained, October 23, 1799, as pastor of the church in Peterborough, N. H., where he continued to preach till February, 1827. He remained in the town, with the general good will and respect of all who had been his parishioners, till two or three years before his death, during which period he resided in Milford. After his decease, his remains were carried to Peterborough, where funeral services were performed by his friend and neighbour, Rev. Levi W. Leonard, D. D., and his successor, Rev. Liberty Billings. Mr. Dunbar was a man of a most genial nature, as simple, credulous, and unsuspecting as a child. He was reputed a good scholar before his settlement, and had a memory of remarkable tenacity; but his circumstances, and especially his trying domestic relations and afflictions, were not favorable to intellectual culture. He belonged to the Arminian school, and at one period of his ministry advocated very strongly the doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked. His life was one of many and great trials; but few men have gone through the world with a more unsullied character; few have preserved so entirely the sweetness of their affections, under sore and repeated disappointments, and few are remembered by those who knew them well with more unmingled satisfaction. We love to dwell on his memory, as that of a thoroughly good man, who had in his composition no admixture of bitterness or guile.

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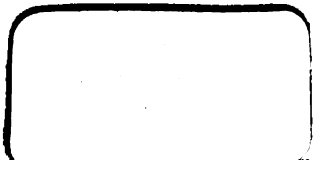
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